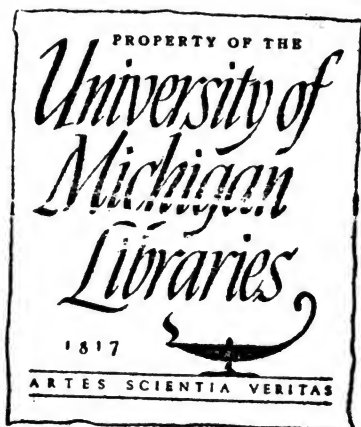


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INTRODUCTION  
TO A SCIENTIFIC SYSTEM OF  
MYTHOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION

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TO

A SCIENTIFIC  
SYSTEM OF MYTHOLOGY.

*Karl Thiel*  
BY C. O. MÜLLER,

Author of "The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race," &c., &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

BY JOHN LEITCH.

LONDON:  
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## DEDICATION.

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DEAR SIR,

I AM indebted to you for my first acquaintance with the writings of Müller; and what chiefly determined me to translate his *Prolegomena*, was the circumstance that you entertained so high an opinion of that work, as to have thought, at one time, of translating it yourself. However much it may be a matter of regret that you did not undertake a task for which you are peculiarly well qualified, it is, nevertheless, gratifying to me that I am enabled to testify my respect for your character, and my admiration of your profound, varied, and elegant scholarship, by inscribing to you this Translation of a work which stands so high in your estimation.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful Servant,

JOHN LEITCH.

E. L. LUSHINGTON, Esq., M.A., *Cantab.*  
*Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow.*



## PREFACE.

---

THROUGHOUT the following Translation I have employed the Greek names of the mythological personages, (except in a few instances, such as Esculapius, where the Latin names are almost identical with them,) in accordance with the practice which prevails in Germany, and which seems very properly to be gaining ground also in this country. I subjoin, however, for the benefit of those who may not be perfectly familiar with the Greek authors, a list of these names, together with those which are commonly used by English writers, who have borrowed them from the Romans :—

Zeus,.....	Jupiter.	Ares, .....	Mars.
Hades,.....	Pluto.	Chronus,.....	Saturn.
Poseidon,.....	Neptune.	Artemis,.....	Diana.
Hermes,.....	Mercury.	Athena, .....	Minerva.
Dionysus,.....	Bacchus.	Demeter,.....	Ceres.
Hera,.....	Juno.	Persephone, Cora,...	Proserpine.
Hephæstus,.....	Vulcan.	Odysseus,.....	Ulysses.
Aphrodite,.....	Venus.	Eos,.....	Aurora.

It was also my intention at first to follow Müller in the orthography of Greek proper names ; but I soon found that if I did so systematically, I should be obliged to adopt many changes which could not fail to shock at least the general reader, as the present vicious mode of spelling is so firmly established in this country, that innovation would

hardly be tolerated, especially in those cases where the names are most disguised, and where, therefore, innovation is most required. Take Circe as an example.

—————Who knows not Circe,  
The daughter of the Sun?

says Milton; but were her name spelt and pronounced as it ought to be, (Kirkè,) the transformer would be herself so transformed, that none but a Grecian could possibly recognise her. Besides, I felt that it would be presumptuous in me to attempt to lead, while those who are entitled to do so, although many of them admit the necessity of reform in this matter, have done so little towards introducing a better system.

For the numerous references to the author's History of the Dorians, I have made use of the first edition of Tuffnell and Lewis's excellent translation of that work.

I have inserted in the Appendix two short essays by Müller: the one on the Myths connected with the constellation of Orion, from the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1834, and the other on the Grotto of Hermes at Pylus, from the *Hyperboreisch-Römische Studien für Archäologie*.

I have only further to offer my best thanks to Sir Wm. Hamilton, of Edinburgh, for his kindness in examining a portion of my translation in manuscript, and comparing it with the original. While the high admiration of Müller's learning and genius, expressed by one so well qualified to judge, gave me assurance that my task was not ill chosen, his opinion of the manner in which I had executed it so far, was certainly not such as to discourage me from bringing it to a conclusion.

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INTRODUCTION

TO A

SCIENTIFIC SYSTEM OF MYTHOLOGY.

---

CHAPTER I.

*External Idea of the Mythus.*

IN order that our subject may be clearly understood, it is first necessary to convey to our readers an idea of the mythus, which will at least enable them to discover and recognise it. What the learned men of Greece, then, called *μῦθοι*, and treated as homogeneous materials, in such compilations as the Bibliotheca of Apollodorus, and the *κύκλος μυθικός* of Dionysius, consists of a mass of *narrations in which the deeds and destinies of individual personages are recorded, and which all relate, by the way they are connected and interwoven, to a period antecedent to the historical era of Greece, and separated from it by a tolerably distinct boundary.* This definition contains nothing which a consideration of the mythic materials, as we find them in Apollodorus, would not immediately suggest; but it is wholly *external*, confines itself merely to the form in which mythi are presented, and expresses rather what they seem to be than what they are. This may be distinctly

shown from individual examples, without our entering, for the present, into investigations concerning the nature and origin of mythi. For, in the first place, even *the account of an action or event* is manifestly form, when permanent relations, whether of natural objects or ideas, are denoted in the mythus. Thus it is stated in the Theogony of Hesiod, amid an assemblage of mythological records, that Night gave birth to Deceit and Desire, (Φιλότης,) and that Discord brought forth Battle and Slaughter;<sup>1</sup> although these events cannot be regarded as insulated facts, but become, on the contrary, matters of daily occurrence, by the substitution of the abstract idea *to cause* or *occasion* for the figurative expression *to give birth*. But it is also clear that the form of a single definite occurrence belongs, of necessity, to the mythic representation. If you take away the one you destroy the other, and often retain what is nothing more than a figurative proverbial expression, although it may bear a close affinity to the mythus; as in the well-known and so variously-applied adage of the Greeks, "*Pride begets Discontent, Discontent Destruction.*" In like manner is it a peculiarity of the mythic form that personified beings are introduced, who, although never imagined as entirely human, are, nevertheless, seen to act after the manner of men. From Uranus and Gæa downwards, all mythological beings lead a personal existence. Uranus wills, acts, is pleased, angry, and so forth, while he is, at the same time, constantly represented as the all-encircling canopy of heaven.<sup>2</sup> But this property of personification is by no means confined to the The-

<sup>1</sup> Theog., 224 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> V. 128, 177.

ogony, in which both physical and moral existences and ideas are invested with personality; it pervades the entire *local* or *heroic mythology*. The life-giving *Streams* from which the earth derives fertility and mankind sustenance, appear as the first progenitors, and together with them the solid barriers of the country, the *Peaks* and *Ridges* of *Mountains*; then the *District*, the *City*, and the *People* come into view, and various features of *external nature*, and the *gods* themselves, often under names mysterious and hard to be explained, but which, however, we shall not at present touch upon. There may be still, indeed, learned men, especially in foreign countries, who will, in spite of everything, assume that there once actually existed a King Inachus, from whom the river had its name; and a person called Argos, who gave his name to the city. But surely we can, in many instances, learn from the language, that localities received their denomination from their physical character; for example, in this very instance we know that *Αργος* signified a plain, especially one lying close to the sea; and such precisely was the district of Argos.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, a town in Arcadia was called Cleitor, because it stood in a narrow secluded valley, (from *κλείω*;) and yet it also is said to have been called after a hero of that name.<sup>2</sup> Thousands of such instances might be collected, if the localities were carefully examined. But the same result is still more clearly deduced from the *connected consideration* of a local mythology, *e. g.* the Argive. Oceanus, the source of all fresh water, begets Inachus, by which name the stream must,

<sup>1</sup> Orchom., p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan., viii. 4. 3.

assuredly, have been originally meant ; as water most naturally produces water—the great primary water, a smaller and local water. Inachus having married a daughter of Oceanus, begat Phoroneus, the first man, according to the Argive tradition, and therefore, of course, no historical personage. This Phoroneus begat Apis, whose name is formed from 'Απία, the ancient designation of the Peloponnesus, and Niobe, a mysterious mythological being, whose significance we may, for the present, leave unexamined, without seriously interrupting the connexion. The latter had, by the great god Zeus, the father of gods and men, a son, Argos, the district, and also Pelasgus, the race, according to Acusilaus, the Argive, by whom the tradition was handed down, and from whom the greater part of the story in Apollodorus was derived ;<sup>1</sup> while he, in his turn, drew upon the ancient poem Phoronis.<sup>2</sup> The simple consideration of similar legends, those of Arcadia, for instance, would be similarly instructive. But as we do not yet mean to draw any conclusion with the view to a general explanation of mythi, it is sufficient that we have here pointed out the occasional personification of localities, &c. We now come to the *third* point, viz., that the events of which mythi speak, all relate, by the way they are connected and interwoven, to a time anterior to the historical period, and divided from it by a tolerably distinct boundary. This, again, is perfectly true, if we consider mythi to be nothing more than what they profess to be. In that view they all refer to a period which ter-

<sup>1</sup> Apollod., ii. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly Clem. Alex., Strom. i. p. 321, A.

minated in the series of epic poems called *Κύκλος ἱπικὸς*, with Odysseus' last adventures, or thereabouts, and was somewhat further, but not materially, extended by other poets. We find, however, that this definition also can only apply to the form of the mythus; in other words, *that what is really stated in the mythus lies on this side of the boundary, is, in fact, a later occurrence.* This can be pointed out in a great number of mythi which indubitably refer to historical events. I shall, however, confine myself to one.<sup>1</sup> The Greek city of Cyrene, in Libya, was founded about the 37th Olympiad. The reigning family traced their descent from the Minyans, whose chief sway was at Iolcus, a city of southern Thessaly. The establishment of the colony was principally the work of the Oracle of Apollo at Pytho. This is represented in a mythus as follows: The heroic virgin Cyrene, who dwelt in Thessaly, was beloved of Apollo, and carried away by him to Libya.<sup>2</sup> But it is not represented as if it had taken place in the 37th Olympiad. In order that it might be at all formed into a mythus, it is translated back to the early heroic age, and Cyrene brought into affinity with the ancient heroes of the Thessalian race, to whom the royal family believed themselves related.

We shall have an opportunity hereafter, for example when we come to speak of the mythic expression, of following up these remarks. Here they are merely designed to prove what they do prove: that the above definition of the mythus in

<sup>1</sup> I have already pointed out this case in my *Orchomenos*, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.



many cases *applies solely to the form, the external appearance*. But how can we arrive at an idea of its real nature and import? Such an idea cannot be attained *a priori*, as we have it only from experience; neither is it immediately and of itself intelligible, being utterly unknown as a product of our times. It is a purely historical idea; an idea, moreover, by which a creation of very remote ages is to be conceived. It cannot possibly be arrived at otherwise than historically. But how is its historical perception possible, the mythus itself being the only source of the idea of the mythus, and appearing, too, in a form different from its contents? In the statement of an historical fact the form and the contents correspond; an acquaintance with the language forms the bridge which leads from the one to the other. But *here* to us they lie further apart; and the path must first be sought, is itself a problem. In other words, mythi must be interpreted, must be explained, ere we can attain a knowledge of their contents. This must be done in a thousand individual instances ere we shall be able to seize the essence of the mythus as a generic idea. And then the question still remains, whether we can express the knowledge thus attained by an idea such as passes current among us, or by a simple combination of such ideas; whether we do not find something compounded according to our notions of multifarious, widely-separated, and heterogeneous materials, the union of which is based on a mode of thinking entirely different from ours.

Were the Greek mythology, that definite whole of narrations, handed down to us alone and by itself,

and did we possess no other access to a knowledge of Grecian antiquity, if this can be at all imagined, a systematic and philosophical explanation of mythology would be quite impossible; nay, it could not even be shown with certainty that it ought to be understood in any other than the usual sense of the words, that it, in fact, required any explanation at all. And supposing some one should point out the necessity of this by a comparison with the mythologies of other nations, assuming these to have been previously known, the interpretation could be, after all, merely hypothetical, and the merit of any one hypothesis with regard to another would be determined by its superior or inferior capability of affording a general elucidation. Many have actually proceeded in this manner, and have devised very ingenious systems, by which the true meaning of all mythic narrations should be ascertained. But fortunately the case stands otherwise; and we still possess, from independent sources, a knowledge of Grecian antiquity which, in reference to mythology, suffices to furnish starting-points for its true explanation. We know the *language*, and find from it that many mythological names have a meaning, and that the activity of those to whom they are applied corresponds with them; a circumstance which cannot be regarded as accidental and void of significance. We know, too, the *land* of the Greeks, with its rivers, its mountains, and its ruins; and by means of this knowledge we can often ascertain to what particular spot of the Grecian soil a mythus refers, and, it may be, even the purport of its language regarding it. We know, moreover, the authentic *history* of Greece,

its *religion*, and its *civil institutions*, and observe that mythology frequently speaks of their origin and constitution. Nay, the mythic materials, although peculiar in their character, are not so distinctly separated from the other memorials of antiquity, but that they, as it were, pass into each other at the boundary, and stand in a relation of constant transition. Documents purely historical also frequently speak of the same circumstances which are mentioned in mythi; and ideas expressed by mythology, are, in like manner, reproduced by the ancient philosophers; nay, sometimes, too, clothed by them in mythic drapery. By means of this connexion between mythology and the other sources whence our knowledge of antiquity is obtained, we gain numberless points where we can plainly perceive what it speaks of, and the meaning of its communications. We thus gradually learn to understand its language and manner of expression, and rise by degrees to a systematic and philosophical knowledge of the subject.

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## CHAPTER II.

### *Steps towards the Internal Idea of the Mythus.*

It is only by such a gradually progressive method as we have described, that a perfect idea of the nature of the mythus can be attained. We may here, however, though without entering into minute and exhaustive investigations, determine some points regard-

ing it. It is quite clear that two distinct ingredients enter into mythology; viz., *the statement of things done*, and *things imagined*. With regard to the latter, there can be no doubt whatever: for when Hesiod mentions that the Earth gave birth to the Heavens, he does not relate a fact; but he, at all events, expresses a notion, opinion, or whatever it may be called. It might be more easily doubted whether actual events are to be found in mythology; but, in the first place, it would surely be strange if the form of narration of actions and destinies should contain nothing at all really and directly corresponding to itself; and then authentic history frequently furnishes a test whereby the facts of a mythic narration may be verified. To give an example, by way of illustration: The Achæan tribe, within the historical period, dwelt on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus. Now, the mythus states that the Achæan prince, Tisamenus, having been expelled by the Dorians from Argos, took refuge in that region. But, perhaps, it will be objected that this event stands on the confines of history, and the account of it must, therefore, be regarded as historical. This once granted, we penetrate farther into mythology, and find that two sons of Achæus, who (to pass by whatever may admit of dispute) either denote the tribe, or conducted it, removed to Argos from Phthiotis.<sup>1</sup> We always find, therefore, a chain of facts leading from history into mythology. It might, indeed, be said that the mythic statement is merely a conclusion drawn by the inventor of the mythus, in order, as it were, to give the Achæans a mythological footing in Argos; but

<sup>1</sup> Pausan., vii. 1. 3.

on such an assumption, the enigma would remain to be solved, why this statement or invention corresponds so exactly with the numerous traditions of the Achæans in Phthiotis. It must then be alleged that both series of mythi were invented by the same person, or that the author of the one meant to follow up the invention of the other: suppositions which, in the sequel, will be shown to be inadmissible. We still, then, come to the result, that real events also are recorded in mythi.

These two elements, fact and imagination, the *Real* and the *Ideal*, to use expressions which ought to be as general as possible, often appear very *closely united* in a mythic relation. Numberless examples might be adduced. I shall select one which stands, so to speak, at the apex of Greek literature,—the story of Chryseis, in the first book of the Iliad. I take it from this source without, for the present, endeavouring to discriminate between the mythus itself and its poetical treatment. The Greeks had conquered and laid waste Hypoplacian Thebes, near the Trojan territory, and carried away captive from the neighbouring temple of Chryse, the daughter of Chryses the priest. The father wished to ransom her; but his application was harshly refused, and he himself insulted, by Agamemnon, to whom she had fallen at the division of the spoil. Hereupon Apollo, the god of the sanctuary, at the prayer of Chryses, sent with his arrows into the camp of the Greeks a pestilence, destructive both to men and animals. We know that the temple actually stood in the situation referred to. Traces of it were seen in later times;<sup>1</sup> and the appel-

<sup>1</sup> Stra., xiii. 605.

lation of Smintheus, which the priest in Homer gives to his god, was still preserved in the district. Thus far, then, at all events, are actual circumstances embodied in the mythus. On the other hand, the action of the deity, as such, is purely ideal. It can have no other foundation than the belief that Apollo sternly resents ill usage of his priests, and that too in the way here represented; viz., by sending plagues. This belief is in perfect harmony with the idea generally entertained by the ancients, of the power and agency of Apollo; and it is manifest that this idea, placed in combination with certain events, gave birth to the story, so far as relates to the god. We have not yet before us the means of ascertaining whether it is to be held as an historical tradition or an invention, and must, therefore, leave that question for the present undecided.

The Real and the Ideal are often still more closely united, and the one still more completely taken up into the other. When, for example, tradition relates that Demeter, in her wanderings, came to Eleusis, served there as a maid, and taught the Eleusinians their mysteries; it is plain that the main narrative is founded only on belief, and is not a statement of anything that had been actually seen. With it the fact of the actual existence of the goddess' worship at Eleusis is incorporated and interwoven.

This union, indeed, is found in most mythi; and there are probably few in which something real and something ideal might not be pointed out. Nay, if I may be thus early allowed to hint at a result of further investigation, the older the mythus the more intimately blended are its real and imaginary con-

stituents. Consequently, the distinction between *historical* and *philosophical mythi*, on which so much stress was formerly laid, is of proportionally more limited applicability, and only a small part can, by means of it, be separated from the entire mass and classified.

If we proceed, in the manner proposed, from simple and clear to more complicated examples, and always endeavour to ascertain what refers to fact and what to idea, we are led to aim at a more accurate determination of the relations which subsist between these two elements of the mythus; and even where sure starting-points fail, to find out, if possible, from analogy the boundary which divides them. It being here our object to obtain a preliminary idea of the real nature of the mythus, it will yet be necessary, for this purpose, that we endeavour to arrive at some determinations *as to the manner* in which these two ingredients enter into its composition.

Let us first inquire into the imaginary, the *Ideal*, in the mythus. The question regarding it cannot be answered unless we separate the *theogonical* portion of mythology from the rest. In the former, a crowd of ideas immediately present themselves to the mind of the inquirer in tolerably distinct expression; in the latter, a much smaller number meet his view. When it is related that Zeus enclosed Metis, "Wisdom," in his body, in order that that goddess might make known to him good and evil,<sup>1</sup> the fundamental idea that wisdom resides in the supreme Deity shines clearly through. When it is said that Night bore to Erebus, Ether and Daylight,<sup>2</sup> the physical idea so common among the

<sup>1</sup> Theog., 886.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 124.

ancients, that light sprang out of darkness, is thereby expressed. In like manner, we find in Hesiod's Theogony, in so far as we understand them with certainty, a great variety of notions laid down regarding the pristine and the present form of this world, the essence and power of the gods, and the relation of man to a higher nature: notions which, taken in connexion, constitute a kind of philosophy, if we throw aside what belongs to religion. The case is precisely similar with the Orphic cosmogonics, in which, however, there is a great deal that must be referred to a much later period; but the best solution, in regard to the nature of this representation, is afforded by the cosmogony of Pherecydes of Syros, in which it is impossible not to recognise philosophical ideas clothed in mythi. But nine-tenths of the Grecian mythi are of a *totally different kind*. Their scenes are laid in particular districts of Greece; and they speak of the Primeval inhabitants, of the lineage and adventures of native heroes, &c. A consideration of these legends will soon show that a comprehensive connexion of the Ideal is not to be looked for in their original form. They are, evidently, not the work of one or a few persons, as may be seen from this circumstance of itself, that they manifest an accurate acquaintance with individual localities, which, at a time when Greece was neither explored by antiquaries, nor did geographical hand-books exist, could be possessed only by the inhabitants of those localities. Accordingly, any attempt to explain these mythi in order,—such, for instance, as we now find them in Apollodorus,—as a system of thought and knowledge, must prove a fruitless task. Such a systematic



coherence could, at most, extend merely to smaller portions originally connected. Here, however, our inquiry is restricted to the Ideal, as it is exhibited in the *heroic* or *local* mythus. If we read mythi simply, and without straining after interpretation, there is only one point where the Ideal uniformly meets the view—the *continual agency of the gods*. They are the same deities that were worshipped in the temples of Greece. They act, too, almost always in consistency with the character ascribed to them by their worshippers; and, therefore, it is clear that these narrations are an expression of belief in the gods of the country, a profession of religion, (the source of which, however, we shall not yet try to determine, nor even touch the question whether the gods may have originally sprung out of philosophemes.) Religion is therefore, in addition to history, the only element which stands out prominently at the first consideration of the heroic or local mythology. But the more deeply the subject is examined, the more does faith in the gods gain space and importance. We find that they very often appear under names which they do not usually bear, but which are formed from their ancient appellatives; and that the mythus, as it has been handed down to us, while it may contain no direct intimation that it speaks of a god, does, nevertheless, frequently exhibit traces which must lead a reflecting mind to that persuasion. It may be proper that an example of this kind should be here fully developed. Modern investigations have already brought a number of them to light. The goddess Artemis was worshipped in a peculiar manner at Brauron in Attica. The vir-

gins who served her were called ἄρκτοι "she-bears."<sup>1</sup> Hence it follows that the bear was held sacred to the goddess. Now Artemis was also worshipped in Arcadia; and there are indications, too, that her worship there corresponded, in several points, to that which was observed at Brauron. But the mythus informs us that Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, was her constant attendant in Arcadia, and her companion in the chase, until she became pregnant by Zeus, and was changed, by the wrath of the chaste goddess, into a bear, in which form she gave birth to Arcas, the father of the Arcadian people. So the legend ran in a Hesiodic poem, according to the extract in Eratosthenes.<sup>2</sup> In another poetical work, also ascribed to Hesiod, Callisto is called a nymph.<sup>3</sup> Now, we set out from this, that the circumstance of the goddess, who is served at Brauron by she-bears, having a friend and companion changed into a bear, cannot possibly be a freak of chance, but that this metamorphosis has its foundation in the fact that the animal was sacred to the goddess. In this way only can the mythus, and at the same time the religious observance, be accounted for, and their connexion understood: for, were any one to think also of deriving the latter from the former, he could only, however, do so, if the metamorphosis of her nymph by the goddess into a bear, of all animals, was not accidental; and this, again, still brings us back to the sacredness of the animal. But hence, also, it follows that Hesiod

<sup>1</sup> See the Attic dramatists in Harpocr., ἀρκτεῖσαι, Aristoph. *Lysistr.*, 645, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Catast.* I. Hygin. *Poet. Astron.*, ii. 1., p. 419, Staveren.

<sup>3</sup> *Apoll.*, iii. 8. 2.

no longer handed down the mythus in its original shape; for it would surely have been a glaring inconsistency in the ancient mythus, if Artemis should, in her anger, and as a punishment, bestow on her nymph the form of an animal sacred to herself. The supposition of an alteration is further supported by the observation, which, however, we cannot here prove, that the virginity of Artemis, being an idea generally received by the poets, was transferred to the service of the goddess, even in places where an entirely different notion regarding her originally prevailed. With precisely the same view, later poets introduced the favourite fable of Hera's jealousy, and made Zeus himself, from dread of it, transform Callisto into a bear, as he had changed Io into a cow. It is therefore clear that Callisto became a bear, in the original legend, for this reason only, that that animal was sacred to Arcadian Artemis. We know further, that in the time of Pausanias, a temple to Artemis *Καλλίστην*, "the most beautiful," stood in Arcadia near Mount Mænala; on a high earthen mound too, where, as that writer states, it was believed that Callisto had been buried.<sup>1</sup> The appellation of the goddess cannot have been formed from the name of the nymph, as the latter is evidently the derivative, the former the original; besides, that appellation was widely diffused through other parts of Greece, where the Arcadian Callisto was but little regarded. Artemis was called *Καλλίστην* by Sappho;<sup>2</sup> and also in a hymn by Pamphus whom Pausanias reckons more ancient than the Lesbian

<sup>1</sup> VIII. 35. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan., i. 29. 2.

poetess.<sup>1</sup> In Attica, where these hymns had their home, there was a wooden image called *Καλλίστη* in the temple dedicated to Artemis, in the Academy.<sup>2</sup> The goddess is styled, by Attic tragedians, *ἡ καλὰ*, by way of eminence, and as if this were her peculiar title. But as the name of Callisto is manifestly connected with the designation of the goddess, we must infer that *Καλλιστὴ* is the latter's title of honour changed into a proper name; and we thus arrive at the inevitable conclusion, that Callisto is just nothing else than the goddess and her sacred animal comprehended in one idea. This much is evident from what has been adduced; but in order to point at the connexion to which it belongs, it is sufficient to remark, that the ancient Arcadian fancied his Artemis to be a goddess of nature, who haunted lakes and fountains; who supplied with food and drink, and brought to maturity the young of wild animals, as well as the offspring of man; and to whom, therefore, the most powerful creatures in nature, such as the bear, were sacred; although, as the source of youth, growth, and bloom, she might also be called "the most beautiful," in accordance with the ideas of primeval humanity.<sup>3</sup> We come back, therefore, to the position, in proof of which we adduced this example, that mythological research frequently discovers objects of Grecian deification, even where they did not at first present themselves to the eye.

But with these ideas of the gods themselves, another class, which may be termed ethical—fundamental ideas of morality and justice—were united

<sup>1</sup> Pausan., viii. 35. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., i. 29. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Dorians, vol. i. p. 390, sqq.

from an early period among the Greeks; and are, in like manner, to be found expressed in their mythi. I may refer to that of Lycaon, as a well-known instance. Zeus once visited him, or his sons, in humble disguise; and in consequence of their having served up to him human flesh, destroyed their whole race. Whatever else this mythus may contain, it certainly expresses horror of anthropophagy. If I herewith connect the assertion, that the greater portion of the Ideal in heroic mythology, relates either directly or remotely, mediately or immediately, to the worship of the gods, the point, indeed, cannot at present be settled by proof, as a very complete induction would be required for that purpose; but whoever has made himself familiar with interpretations of mythology, whether ancient or modern, which aimed at discovering and unfolding from its materials some other system of knowledge and thought,—astronomical truths, maxims in practical philosophy, or whatever else it might be,—while he may have been struck with the pliability of particular portions of the matter to be explained, in adapting themselves, as it were, to the end in view, must, at the same time, have pronounced the interpretation, as a whole, to be forced, frigid, and unsatisfactory. Let us, therefore, without rejecting anything of that kind, merely hold back, and wait for the development of individual cases; and should we find that it leads us from the certain to the uncertain, so as to explain the latter by the former, we shall joyfully appropriate the result. At all events it is not a rare case to recognise in mythology even portraits of human character, sometimes spun out from particular persons, far across the limits

of tradition—witness the stories of the cunning of Sisyphus,<sup>1</sup>—and sometimes not traceable to any personal history at all, as in the legends of Prometheus and Epimetheus.<sup>2</sup> We also recognise representations of a physical nature; in Æolus, for example, (who is brought into connexion with heroic genealogies,) with whom the Homeric legend makes pleasant sport; in Typhœus who is born in volcanic regions, fights and lies bound, &c.

Altogether, we have no ground whatever for excluding, beforehand, any class of thoughts and ideas from the mythic representation, if it can be at all supposed that they lay within the sphere of intellectual activity in those primitive ages. On the contrary, it is highly probable that a *complete body* of thought and knowledge is contained in mythology. For the mythic expression which converts all powers and existences into persons, and all relations into actions, is at all events so peculiar in its character, that we must suppose for its cultivation *a particular epoch* in the civilisation of a people. This mode of blending together fact and idea in one narration, could not originate and become current at a time when men were accustomed to express distinctly, and keep separate from each other, mere matters of speculation and the pure results of experience. But if the mythic expression were, at one period of Grecian civilisation, so prevalent and universal, it must also have been found well adapted as a vehicle for such thoughts and inventions of that period as seemed deserving of communication in an impressive form, and may, there-

<sup>1</sup> Welcker in Schwenk's Etymol. Mythol., Andent., p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> I refer to Welcker's Mythol. of the Japet. from the beginning.

fore, have been very extensively employed. In short, as we must assume a time when the mythic form of representation more especially flourished, we must also assume that the intellectual treasures of that time were, by means of it, handed down in a certain degree of completeness.

This mode of reasoning does not, however, by any means lead us to a knowledge of the notions contained in mythology. They were those that lay within the sphere of ideas at that time ; but how can we learn what these were, except by decyphering mythology itself, the only source of history for that period to which we have access ? To determine beforehand, from some philosophy of history, that only certain ideas are to be looked for in the creations which emanated from the rude and barbarous infancy of mankind, and that these, therefore, should be extricated from the mass, can lead to no historical insight. In fact, there is perhaps no prejudice more dangerous than this. It has been long cherished, and is still entertained by many who, instead of applying to history for instruction, begin by attempting to set it right. " We must not," say they, " seek for profound or beautiful ideas in the mythus, which derived its existence solely from poverty of direct expression, *ab ingenii humani imbecillitate et a dictionis egestate*." Instead, therefore, of investigating why that epoch of Grecian humanity, above all others, employed this mode of expression, they at once decide that it expressed itself in this strange manner because it was too coarse and dull for any other. Now, is not this precisely as if I should answer the question, why the Greeks cultivated poetry alone

until about the 50th Olympiad, by saying that they were too irrational and unintellectual for prose? Verily, no! every period of history has its prerogative; only we must not seek to pluck roses from the corn-stalk, nor ears of corn from the rose. We ought to be grateful to the olden time for the invention of mythi, from which the poetry of the Greeks burst forth into bloom, and at length gave birth to our own; no *matre pulchrâ filia pulchrrior*. How would elder antiquity have been despised, did not the transcendantly beautiful and god-like form of Homer stand at its very threshold, with his refined and highly expressive language, and his exquisite harmony of versification! But it is according to this analogy that we must pass judgment on the ages lying behind, which appeared so august to Homer himself, and in which—a notable intimation this from the early world—heroes themselves, like the reposing Achilles, sang the deeds of other heroes to the lyre. And must not, then, even the first dawnings of the glorious and beautiful, give indications of its native character? Or must a law which holds good of every other species, be regarded as inapplicable to the nations and races of mankind? In short, the above conclusion merely warns us not to shut our eyes wilfully against anything while engaged in mythological research, not even against ideas of original beauty and purity; and, above all, not to undertake the task of interpretation with a one-sided tendency to a certain limited class of ideas.

We have hitherto merely sought to establish some points with regard to *the Ideal* element of the mythus, and left *the Real* untouched. It is not so difficult a



question to determine how the latter stands: for as the mythus has the form of narration, and actual occurrences cannot be presented in any other, the expression and substance correspond much more closely in this element of mythology than in the former; it is, therefore, also much easier to ascertain what classes of events are introduced. Genealogies of heroes; their adventures, wanderings, and marriages; the conquest of cities and territories, form the staple of heroic or local mythology; and although much of this, in conformity with the preceding observations, must fall to the ground as mythic expression, (for even tribes figure as individuals, and what is not properly fact is often represented as such,) yet it cannot be doubted that traditions of the life and actions of heroic chieftains in the early days of Greece, form the great bulk, and have given a colour to the whole.

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### CHAPTER III.

*The Sources of the Mythus, or rather of our Knowledge of it.*

IN the foregoing remarks, I have carefully abstained from laying down, at so early a stage of our investigation, general and exhaustive determinations regarding the nature of the mythus. I have urged throughout, that researches alone, which enter into individual cases, as well as strive to embrace the whole subject, can lead to such determinations. But, indeed, the entire object of this little treatise is to point out the

way, to show the method of conducting investigations of this nature.

The first question regards the sources of the mythus. *Whence have we obtained mythic narrations, whence did they originate?* To many this will appear to be one and the same question; but we shall soon see that there are two here put, differing widely from each other.

We who are separated from antiquity by many centuries, can only acquire a knowledge of Grecian mythi from the *literary memorials* and *monuments of art* bequeathed by the ancients. The latter, however, form only a subordinate supplementary class of sources; for, did we possess no literary records—to which belong even the inscriptions on reliefs and pictures—the world of ancient art, as regards its historical value, which must be held distinct from its general significance to humanity, would have been utterly closed against us. It is possible, indeed, and sometimes even actually happens, that works of art exhibit mythic personages, *already otherwise known to us*, in situations and actions to which no allusion is made in the writings of the ancients; and such cases, doubtless, constitute a valuable accession to our mythological knowledge. They are, however, comparatively rare, and the information they afford is always, from the circumstance referred to, rather supplementary than altogether new. Literary documents, on the other hand, are intelligible by themselves, and their contents can be deciphered without the aid of works of art; although, certainly, the latter throw additional light on the communications of the former.

Almost all classes of writers, as well in prose as

in poetry, here come under our consideration : epic, lyric, and dramatic poets, together with authors of hymns, elegies, and idyls; logographers, mythographers, historians, orators, sophists, lexicographers, scholiasts, and ecclesiastical writers. There are probably very few authors of antiquity in whom some mythological notice is not to be found; and amid such a mass and variety of sources, it becomes difficult to discover how they can all be made available. However, from the literary character itself, and from the designs and aims of these various authors, as well in their works in general, as in their treatment of the mythus in particular, a conclusion may be drawn as to the method of this treatment. We shall try what can be done in this way with some of them.

The contents of the two great poems of HOMER are, according to the definition given above, of an entirely mythic character. They treat divers series of legends, which stand in close uninterrupted concatenation, and only here and there take notice of others lying apart from this connexion: these series, moreover, are so handled, as to form each a rounded off and complete whole.<sup>1</sup> Whatever is brought into action in these poems, acts in human fashion. Gods behave after the manner of men; nay, even horses of divine breed feel; and swine, though merely enchanted, think. The actions recorded are carried out into their most minute details; and the will which begets the deed, and the thought which prompts the will, are exhibited with equal precision. All hearts are

<sup>1</sup> I must here remark, that whatever judgment may be formed as to the origin of these *wholes*, I think I must, with others, assume the *aiming at*, the endeavour to produce them, to have been given in the first germ and commencement.

laid open to the poet's eye. With all this apparent fidelity of representation, the marvellous is by no means excluded: and if the poet never exalts the deeds of his heroes, the main actions, beyond the limits of possibility; on the other hand, the influence of an upper and nether, a purely ideal supernatural world, is powerfully exerted in the way of cause and coöperation. But this imaginary is, in so many respects, modelled after the real world, that we are scarcely ever reminded of the marvellous, and follow the poet with a species of faith. This linking together into a whole, this circumstantiality of description, this systematic exposition of the motives to action, together with the treatment of the wonderful, may here be already laid down as principles of mythic representation in the Homeric poems; but, on the other hand, it may also be observed, that all these properties are yet perfectly compatible with the design to relate *the actual and true*. The reflecting mind may gather this from the praise bestowed on Demodocus by Odysseus, for having sung the sad fates of the Achæans in strict order, and conformably to truth; the chief excellence of the *θέσπις ἀοιδὴ* being made to consist precisely in that quality.<sup>1</sup> But with regard to the relations in which Homer, generally speaking, stands to tradition and history, some observations will be communicated in a following chapter.

HESIOD'S THEOGONY, in like manner, furnishes a relation, in the historical form, wherein the characters who first appear are the chief objects and elements of external nature, as the Earth, the Heavens, and the Sea; then come into action an order of beings called

<sup>1</sup> Od., viii. 489 sqq.

Titans, evidently belonging in part to the sensible, and partly to an ideal world; and these, again, are succeeded by the gods who were usually worshipped in the temples of Greece. The sequel takes in the descendants of these three classes of beings, their marriages and progeny, their wars and combats. It is manifest that the gods to whom dominion is ascribed in this poem, are the same that were adored in ancient Greece. This, indeed, is pointed out by the poet in regard to Hecate,<sup>1</sup> to the Aphrodite worshipped in Cyprus and Cythera, and others. The heroes, too, are those that were already celebrated in Grecian mythi. If this were not the case, and we were to suppose that these names here bore a signification different from what they bear in the religion and legends of Greece, then must the poet have made it his deliberate aim to impose upon his hearers, or he must have been deceived himself, in the same way, by a more ancient bard,—suppositions which would, at all events, require a very strong foundation. If the contrary is clear, it follows that even the original framer of the Theogony adopted previously-existing materials into his connexion. For the estimate we should form of the proportion which these bear to his own creations, we must, in like manner, refer the reader to a following chapter.

From the so-called CYCLIC EPOPEES, the astonishingly copious *Eææ* of Hesiod, and the genealogical epic poets, such as Eumelus and Asius, we have a considerable mass of fragments and notices, which enable us to form a judgment as to the treatment of the materials in all these works. We know that the poems just mentioned bear less resemblance to a circle

<sup>1</sup> V. 417.

than to a line indefinitely prolonged; inasmuch as their authors frequently strung together numerous legendary stories on a very loose thread, without possessing the Homeric art of connecting with each other the beginning and the end. Further, we know also from these fragments, that here the events recorded were not so well accounted for, evolved, and detailed, that they stood more naked in the relation. If Homer may be compared to a regular historian, they may be rather said to resemble annalists and chroniclers.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is plain, that the predominant aim of these poetical works was to *hand down* legends undisguised by drapery, that their main object was the transmission of mythi. To make these the ground of so animated a picture of the human soul as Homer produced, was a task for which perhaps they altogether wanted genius.

The LYRIC had a far more definite aim than the epic poets, not only in the composition of their works, but also in the treatment of the mythus. They wrote to celebrate the festival of a deity, to extol a conqueror at public games; they wrote for banquets and funeral solemnities. Accordingly, they selected mythi suitable to such occasions; and it may readily be supposed that they also often adapted the story to their design. Besides, there were other motives of various kinds for altering a mythus: a certain moral criticism, in particular, exercised a great modifying influence. Stesichorus had employed this sort of criticism in the character of Helen, as it is exhibited in the current mythi; but he afterwards sought to atone for

<sup>1</sup> See *e. g.* the fragment of the *Eæw*, which now forms the introduction to the Hesiodic *Ἄσπις*.

his offence by a palinode, where, in order that he might free the heroine from all reproach, he availed himself of a probably very obscure tradition, then still existing, that she had never been carried away to Troy. Pindar altered a number of mythi, because they did not harmonize with his own pure and elevated conceptions of the dignity of gods and heroes;<sup>1</sup> and *must* therefore, in his judgment, be untrue. He was not actuated, then, by a species of levity, to which mythi might seem nothing more than mere indifferent materials of poetical treatment, but on the contrary by a regard for truth. A remarkable circumstance must here be noticed. Pindar never doubts in the least that the mythus really relates a fact; and the presence of the wonderful disturbs him so little, that he never shows the slightest disposition to dissolve that coöperation of the divine and the human nature, which is the distinguishing characteristic of the mythus. He only thinks, that in many cases the fact was from the very first distorted, either through ignorance or evil design;<sup>2</sup> and especially, that "stories decked out beyond the bounds of truth, with many-coloured fictions, had misled the minds of men; for that grace which bestows on mortals all that gives delight, obtained for them belief, and often caused what should be distrusted to pass for truth."<sup>3</sup> In accordance with this, he says elsewhere: "I think that the legends of Odysseus are drawn out by the mellifluous Homer further than his destinies extended; for a certain dignity dwells in his fictions and winged art, and his genius insensibly deludes the mind with

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Pyth. iii. 27, ix. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Olymp. i. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Olymp. i. 28., according to Böckh's reading.

fables. But the mass of mankind are blind in soul."<sup>1</sup> Pindar therefore distinguishes the nucleus of the legend, which he considers true, from the additions and embellishments of the poets. In connexion with this it must be stated, that, according to his view, a story may be very old, and yet, at the same time, quite new as a poem. Thus, in the ninth Olympic ode, he embodies legends concerning the mythic ancestors of the Opuntic Locrians, regarding which it did not occur to him to signify that they were invented in late times, or indeed invented at all. But until then they were not sung; for he introduces them with the remark, "Praise indeed old wine, but the blossoms of *new song*."<sup>2</sup> In like manner we know that the legend of the sun-god's occupation of Rhodes, celebrated by Pindar in the seventh Olympic ode, had been recorded in no previous work; in none at least known to the ancient commentators on the poet.<sup>3</sup> But the traditions on this subject do not appear to him the less ancient on that account ("We are told by old traditions of men.") Great value, in mythological research, ought to be attached to the lyric poets, especially Pindar, from this very circumstance, that they occupied themselves with the legends of individual cities, for which they composed their poems, whether designed for the celebration of gods or men. Upon those whom a legend most closely concerned, and who must have known it most accurately, they could not hope to palm off for truth a fabrication of their own. Although they introduced much that was ornamental, yet, in these very cases, a certain degree

<sup>1</sup> Nem. vii. 20.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. 52.<sup>3</sup> Scholia to Olymp. 54. (100.)



of fidelity in the transmission of mythi is to be expected from them.

On this point the matter stands otherwise with the TRAGIC writers. The laws of this species of composition, in the first place, and secondly, the constant relation of their works to one and the same limited public, must have given a peculiar direction to the treatment of mythi. It was necessary that these should be adapted to a tragedy, that they should possess the tragic character, and be wound up in the way that a production of that nature required. At all events, there was great temptation to help out the mythus, to give it a more tragic form, a more complete *dénouement*, more *περιτέτεια* than it had in its original connexion. The people of Attica were the public before whom all these riches were laid, although but a small proportion of them was the produce of their soil. Poets wish to please, especially those for whom they write, even when they find themselves engaged in a sort of contest with the public. It was therefore quite natural that the legendary dish, to carry out a figure of Æschylus, should be often made to suit the Attic palate; that whatever tasted bitter to the national pride of that people should be extracted, and on the contrary something added of an agreeable relish. This is easily conceived by any one who knows what food for their patriotic pride the Greek cities found in their mythi, and who reflects why it was that Theseus, of all the Grecian heroes, should be such a democrat. We find, however, when we come to particular cases, that Æschylus and Sophocles yielded much less to these temptations, and adhered much more faithfully to

tradition, than Euripides, with whom two additional circumstances aided this propensity to innovation. First, The want of new materials, which compelled him to take up subjects already handled more than once, and to alter them in some essential points, if he did not wish to sing an old song. Secondly, The enlightenment which had then begun to break in. Æschylus and Sophocles still believed, and the gods stood before them as real existences, invested with personality; although, nevertheless, the former sometimes speaks of the Divine and the gods in the spirit of an ancient, deeply speculative and partly Orphic philosophy, which is often still enigmatical to us; and the latter occasionally, but without the least hostility towards religion, refers to the opinions of philosophers, *e.g.* regarding Helius,<sup>1</sup> the begetter of all things. But in Euripides a kind of philosophizing, certainly somewhat vague and wavering, almost entirely supplanted the religion of mythology, although the nature of tragic composition required that the latter should enter into it as a principal ingredient. But Zeus is to him no longer an actual and personal existence. Under this name sometimes the ether is meant, and sometimes the necessity of nature; nay, even the intellect of man.<sup>2</sup> There is also observable in him an arbitrary striving to unite several divine persons into one (*θεοκρασία*).<sup>3</sup> Traditions, therefore, must either have appeared to him the mere playthings of poetry; or a particular mode of enouncing philosophemes;<sup>4</sup> and as he readily adopted innovations—that of Stesi-

<sup>1</sup> *Frm. inc.* 91. Br.

<sup>2</sup> Troades, 891. Valckenær, *Diatr. Eurip.* v. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Bouterweck, *Commentat. Soc. Gott. rec.* iv. p. 859. Dorians, v. l. i. p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> See particularly Bacchæ, 285.

chorus, for instance, in the mythus of Helen, and that of Pindar in the mythus of Pelops,—we must not expect from him any particular fidelity in the transmission of what he received.

It is not easy to say anything, in a general way, of the ALEXANDRIAN poets, and those of Rome who bore affinity to them. Many of them, indeed, sported with the mythus, but rather when they treated it by the way in a humorous and playful manner, than in the epos. On the whole, the mythic material was to them an object of learned investigation, and even learned ostentation; which it must certainly have ceased to be, so soon as they allowed themselves the free exercise of invention. Callimachus, Parthenius, Lycophron, Euphorion, searched for strange, little-known, and half-forgotten fables,<sup>1</sup> from every nook and corner: whence it may be inferred, that the less a legend was known, the more would it attract and charm the lovers of mythology. But if these poets themselves took the liberty of making as many new fables as they required, they certainly assumed, with regard to the rest, the merit of industrious compilation; and as they could not, however, always name their sources, they also claimed every degree of faith. If, therefore, Euphorion really created new fables, he must have been guided by indications, and arrived at them by certain trains of reasoning, nearly in the same way that he ventured to coin new words. The most striking example of fable-invention is perhaps furnished by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Ovid certainly collected whatever transformations he could discover in former poets and other authors, and wreathed them

<sup>1</sup> Meineke de *Euphorione*, p. 46.

together, in a very ingenious manner, into a *perpetuum carmen*; for which latter purpose he imagines, for example, in the first book, a meeting of the rivers at the Peneus; in the second, a conversation between Epaphus and Phaëthon: but I do not believe that there is, in the whole book, a regular fable which can be ascribed to the author's invention. On the contrary, he is embarrassed by the materials of his learned collection, and dismisses a number of fables with a few verses, because he thinks he ought not to omit them. It is quite a different thing, indeed, with Italian mythology,—a mass of obscure and unintelligible traditions, which must needs be converted into Grecian fables, and with which Virgil and Ovid went to work with great freedom, often assuming the task of creation. But notwithstanding every attempt, a mythology, in the Greek sense of the word, was never formed from these materials.

Among the prose-writers, the LOGOGRAPHERS are of most importance to us. They correspond to the authors of the Cyclic Epics and the Eœæ in poetry. For the most part, they evidently aimed at nothing further than the transmission of legends just as they received them; but for the convenience of the reader, they connected them more closely than they are to be found in the poets. The epic authors were their chief sources; and hence it is said of the more ancient logographers, particularly Acusilaus, that they only translated the poetical works which lay before them into prose. Numberless, also, are the passages where the epics they drew from can be pointed out. The idea that they collected these mythi merely for the purpose of illustrating the

poets, is totally inconsistent with the character of those times. It is manifest that they looked upon them as something in itself worthy of being known. They relate them, in plain and simple language, as events that had taken place in the olden heroic world of wonders. This applies at least to Acusilaus, Pherecydes, and Hellanicus, in whose fragments I can, after careful examination, nowhere discover any desire to suppress the marvellous. It was at the same time, however, their design *to arrange* the mythi, and bring them into coherence: but in this the example had been already set by the cyclic and genealogical epic poets. In this process, it would often naturally happen that some would be preferred and adopted, while others would be rejected and omitted. A sort of criticism must have been exercised. It would be very desirable to know the principles of this criticism. It may, however, be deduced from the nature of the subject, as well as from occasional traces, that they gave way, in the first place, to partiality for the legends of their native city: as Acusilaus the Argive, for example, calls his countryman Phoroneus, the first man; secondly, that they were influenced by the notions of deity and humanity which then prevailed; and, thirdly, and most especially, that they decided, according to what the connexion required, whether a mythus was true or false. To give an example, we find among the ancients a great diversity of opinion as to the person for saving whom from death, Esculapius was himself struck dead by Jupiter with a thunderbolt.<sup>1</sup> Pherecydes said he was killed for raising the dead to life at Delphi: for he

<sup>1</sup> Apollod., iii. 10. 3. Schol. Pind., P. 3. 96.

connected the event in question with a Delphic tradition of Apollo's flight.<sup>1</sup> This tendency to selection was likewise increased by the endeavour to introduce into the mythi a sort of chronology. Hellanicus went so far as to calculate the fall of Troy, from indications in ancient poets, to the very day, and, at the same time, to the year of the Argive priestess of Juno; whilst he carried the catalogue of these priestesses, probably derived from Argive records of reputed antiquity, through the mythic ages as far back as Io.<sup>2</sup> It is clear, from what has been said, that these writers have rendered an important service. By means of their labours (what would have been otherwise inexplicable) the genealogies of heroes, which originated in so many different places, are disposed in tolerable order, and maintain a certain synchronical harmony. Nay, we have perhaps to regard them, in the main, as the creators of the mythological system that prevailed among later writers. However, as this system is by no means founded on philosophic views and searching criticism, but rests, for the most part, on belief in the mythus, it cannot be made directly available for our object. On the contrary, we must try to take it asunder, and, in so far as it was the work of these compilers, to destroy it; and, in doing so, we must chiefly look for assistance to data disregarded by them, concealed in some corner, and often wrapt in obscurity. A trace, however, of general mythological criticism is to be found in the fragment of Hecatæus given by Demetrius.<sup>3</sup> "Thus says Hecatæus of Mi-

<sup>1</sup> *Fragm. Sturz., ed. alt.* p. 82 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragm. ed. Sturz.,* pp. 77, 151 sqq. It is even not impossible to restore, in a general way, from the fragments, the mythic chronology of Hellanicus.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. *περὶ ἑλλην.* § 12.

letus, 'I write according to *my* view of the truth : for the narrations of the Greeks are various, and, in my opinion, ridiculous.'” In the choice of mythi, therefore, he followed his own views, which were enlightened by the Ionic philosophy, and rejected many popular traditions which he considered childish; nay, he even interpreted in many, for instance, in that of the infernal monster Cerberus, who, according to his explanation, was a serpent at the promontory of Tænarum. The opinion, that a *pragmatic* treatment of the mythus is to be found as early as Dionysius Milesius, rests on the supposition that he was the source from which Diodorus drew; but it can be shown, even from that writer's extract, that Dionysius of Samos, styled the cyclographer, who flourished a good deal later, was his authority.<sup>1</sup> Böckh has called attention to this distinction.<sup>2</sup>

The HISTORIANS Herodotus and Thucydides occasionally handle mythic narrations,—the former confining himself chiefly to particular cases, the latter treating the subject in a more general way,—and draw results from them as to the descent of the Grecian races and their ancient customs. For these matters they were entirely destitute of other sources; and therefore a philosophical treatment of the mythus, the ancient genealogies, and heroic adventures, is what was here required. Now, it cannot be supposed that such a problem could have been then solved with anything like completeness. It would be unreasonable to demand from these great historians a general

<sup>1</sup> Heyne, *Commentat. Gott.*, T. vii., p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Böckh, *Explic. ad Pind.*, P. I., p. 233. Comp. Panofka *Res Samiorum*, p. 94 sq.

mastery over the mass of mythic materials, a combination of things lying far apart yet intimately connected, and philosophical reflections on the principles and rules of investigation. In Herodotus, as well as most of the ancients, belief in the actual existence of the gods presents a powerful obstacle to inquiry. It is plain that this belief must have disappeared, before the mind, unshackled by prejudice, could separate, in the mythus, substance and form, idea and fact. From his faith sprang also his notion that all men thought alike of the gods;<sup>1</sup> that therefore the gods of Egypt, Persia, and other countries, were identical with those of Greece. It is easy to see what a state of confusion would result from this mixture of heterogeneous creeds. The Introduction of Thucydides is esteemed by many the most faithful and correct view of the mythic times; but however much the sober sense of the historian may deserve commendation, I think it could not supply the want of a profound and comprehensive knowledge of mythology, which is certainly indispensably requisite for the establishment of such a theory.

PRAGMATISM afterwards made its appearance in the works of those historians who brought mythi within the scope of their subject, that term being applied to their system of converting them into history. Now, mythi are certainly sources of history; nay, if they contained nothing but fiction, they would still be so far the internal history of the Greek nation; but the pragmatists would fain derive from them at once a regular external history of princes and states.

<sup>1</sup> II. 3; which passage, however, is also explained in a different way.



They separated from the mythus the marvellous, the fantastic, the impossible; what remained, however intimately it might have been blended with the imaginary, was adopted by them as historical ground-work; and in order to connect these supposed results, they assigned for them such motives as suited their own times. In many places they left out the gods; in others, they represented them as men who had toiled and acted on earth, and thereby obtained divine honours. There is really some appearance of foundation for this procedure, as no distinct line of demarcation was drawn between gods and heroes. Ephorus went to work in this way. He only began his history, indeed, with the expedition of the Heraclidæ; but he inserted, however, as it appears, a great number of mythi as episodes, and treated them according to his method. By straining after this fancied history, he was prevented from searching into the genuine import of the legends; and his mytho-historical representations, therefore, are strung together, for the most part, in a very arbitrary manner.<sup>1</sup> Theopompus, a contemporary of Ephorus, also introduced mythi into his history, and thought that his treatment of them was more correct than that of his predecessors;<sup>2</sup> yet it also was probably in the pragmatic spirit. But the work entitled *Τρικάρωνος*—the author of which attacked three cities of Greece, and, as Lucian<sup>3</sup> expresses it, annihilated the first states of Hellas with his triple-edged words, at the same time that he examined their mythic pretensions, and in so doing brought forward the Saitic Cecrops<sup>4</sup>—was not written by Theopompus,

<sup>1</sup> Orchomenos, pp. 231, 235, 379. Dorians, vol. i. pp. 109, 111, 118.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, i. 43. <sup>3</sup> Pseudologist, 29. <sup>4</sup> Orch., p. 107.

according to a critical notice in Josephus,<sup>1</sup> who calls it (evidently the same book) *Τριπολιτικός*, but was probably a rhetorical fabrication. Anaximenes of Lamp-sacus lived at the same time, or somewhat later. In his universal history, which commenced from the beginning of the world, he followed, in all likelihood, as regards the mythus, the principles which prevailed in his day. Euhemerus of Messenia, a contemporary of the Macedonian Cassander, did so, and exhibited them in a very peculiar manner. He set out from the principle that all the gods had lived somewhere as men; and as the legends of Greece did not furnish sufficient proof of this, he wrote imaginary travels to a place nowhere existing, which he called Panchæa, and in which, it was pretended, monuments of all the gods were to be seen. His work bore the imposing title of *ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή*; but it was, in fact, nothing more than a romance, in which that idea was carried out. Dionysius of Samos also embraced the same theory. He bore a strong mental affinity to Euhemerus, and probably lived at the same period. What Diodorus quotes from him regarding Bacchus, the Argonauts, and the history of the great Amazonian state at Mount Atlas, gives evidence of extreme arbitrariness, and of a romantic tendency in the treatment of mythi. Dionysius, however, gave it as if it had been extracted from the ancient mythologists and poets, "*παρὰ τῶν ποιημάτων τῶν ἀρχαίων τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν*," and thereby blinded the Agyrian, a most uncritical author; so that the latter, with the most perfect faith, gave these dreams, as well as the pre-

<sup>1</sup> Against Apion, i. 24.

tended discoveries of Euhemerus, a place in his historical dictionary.

The PHILOSOPHERS had from the very beginning occupied themselves with the mythus, and that in two different ways. First, they employed the mythic style as a peculiar mode of expressing thoughts and feelings. The more ancient did so rather from internal impulse than spontaneous reflection. It appeared to them the most suitable and dignified form, and, perhaps in many cases too, something *more than mere form*. Afterwards there was more design evinced, and the mythic expression was chosen, because it was picturesque and popular. It was adopted for this reason by Plato and the sophists, who applied it with no little skill: witness the beautiful story of Hercules at the crossway, by Prodicus; and that of Prometheus and Epimetheus by Protagoras, which is even called *μῦθος* by Plato.<sup>1</sup> Hippius, too, earned great applause from the Lacedemonians, when he related to them how Neoptolemus asked Nestor, what a youth ought to do in order to become a famous hero.<sup>2</sup> But still more must we, in considering *the interpretation of mythi* by the philosophers, distinguish the deliberate design of the latter, from that internal necessity which prompted the earlier philosophers, who were no less filled with religious faith than influenced by their ideas, and were therefore obliged to blend them both in reciprocal union, if they did not wish to be at variance with themselves. In this way are we to understand the interpretations of the ancient Pythagoreans, which were meant to reconcile religious notions with philosophi-

<sup>1</sup> Protag., 320 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. Hipp. maj., 286.

cal ideas, and therefore always contain some degree of truth. Religious feeling afterwards died gradually away; and it became more an exercise of ingenuity to bring mythi and the names of the gods into harmony with some particular philosophy. Physical interpretation already prevailed in the time of Socrates. It was employed by Prodicus,<sup>1</sup> and Metrodorus, the pupil of Anaxagoras. The Stoics carried it farther, and applied it to the allegorical elucidation of Homer.<sup>2</sup> Other philosophers adhered to Euhemerism; those, for instance, from whom Cicero, who calls them theologers, borrowed the passage concerning the multiplicity of persons who were called Zeus, Aphrodite, Apollo, &c.<sup>3</sup> We do not know, however, to what sect they belonged. The Neo-Platonists, loftier in their views than their predecessors, interpreted according to ideas of an orientalised Platonism. It is less necessary to dwell on these than any other class of writers: for their interpretations, whether ingenious or absurd, *were scarcely ever founded on historical investigation*, but always sprang from the endeavour to recognise a certain system of philosophy. Hence, even Cicero said of Chrysippus, that he transformed the most ancient poets into Stoics.<sup>4</sup> They, therefore, tend to perplex rather than to guide the inquiry of the mythologist. A later tribe of allegorical writers also, entirely destitute of acumen and judgment, brought the whole subject into such disrepute, that some have on this account abandoned all interpretation, which is nearly saying all investi-

<sup>1</sup> Davis *ad Cic. de Nat. Deo.*, i. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See Heyne, *de allegoria*, *Homer Exc. ad Il.* xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> *De Nat. Deo.*, iii. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *De Nat. Deo.*, i. 15.

gation of mythi: thus flinging away the kernel with the husk.

Of so much the more importance to us are the laborious and industrious authors who merely *compiled and related* mythi; for to them are we chiefly indebted for the treasure of ancient mythology. Apollodorus, as the extract from his mythological dictionary shows, did nothing more to the materials than arrange them, nearly in the same manner with the logographers, except that he also availed himself of the drama, perhaps, too, of some later materials, and aimed at a comprehensive whole. At the same period were written learned commentaries on the poets; and of these there were some, those of Didymus for instance, in which mythological elucidation predominated; and any mythus which threw light on a passage, was drawn from the best and most genuine source, and placed beside it. Among these learned men there were fewer allegorical interpreters, such as Crates. The opinion of Aristarchus was perhaps generally entertained, that researches as to the origin of mythi are not essential to the explanation of a poet. The Scholia which have been preserved, must supply to us the want of those copious sources, and we may well be satisfied with the mass of materials they furnish.

Particular mention is here due to a writer who flourished at a time when mythi were almost regarded as mere sophisto-rhetorical exercises. We allude to Pausanias the Lydian, who wrote a book of travels through Greece, in the reigns of Hadrian and the Antonines. Although he made use of, and cited a great number of poets and prose writers, he

repeats, however, and it is for this that he deserves especial remark, still more frequently what he had heard on the very spot to which his relation refers, whether he received it from priests, servants of the temple, or others. It might often happen, therefore, that traditions which had lived for many centuries in the mouths of the people, were first committed by him to writing. He relates what he had heard, and how he had heard it, even when he is himself doubtful of its truth;<sup>1</sup> the more so as he believed he had gradually attained the knowledge that much had been concealed in riddles by the ancient sages of Greece.<sup>2</sup>

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## CHAPTER IV.

### *Of the Sources or Origin of the Mythus itself.*

IF we take a glance at the various writers here brought under review, it will be obvious that we have not, in any of them, arrived at the real original source of the mythus. We have seen, indeed, that mythi are frequently modified by poetical and philosophical treatment; but these modifications, however, always found a præexistent nucleus, and allowed it to remain. Pure inventions, like those of the philosophers, rhetoricians, and sophists, never became mythi, in the proper sense, although the Greeks em-

<sup>1</sup> II. 17. 4. VI. 3. 4.

<sup>2</sup> VIII. 8. 2.

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 employed precisely the same word<sup>1</sup> to designate such narrations. What had arisen in this way might have been propagated as an ingenious fiction, but it would not be readily admitted into the body of mythology. For example, there is not a word in Apollodorus relating to the Hercules of Prodicus, to the form which Antisthenes gave that hero, or to Eros, and Anteros, and the like. If we strive, on the contrary, to enter into the spirit of those epic poets who sought to transmit numerous mythi in their strains, of the logographers who gave a more convenient arrangement to the materials of Pindar, &c., we shall clearly see, that to them these mythi were really traditions from the olden time, which they considered genuine, without feeling any wonder at the events which they contained, however extraordinary they might be, or at variance with those of actual life: for they were taught by faith to receive the marvellous as truth. To them they were records of a higher world, in which heroes and gods still lived in fellowship with each other, of a period from which it was nobility to trace descent, and which was long deemed by poetry and sculpture, the only object worthy of their regard. By *this* view alone can we account for the predilection which was so long manifested for its mythus by the most intellectual people in the world; and which, notwithstanding all their vivacity of genius, and all their natural talent for observation, so long prevented authentic history from making its appearance. It was so strong, that in

1 The word *μῦθος*, anciently signified "a saying," but it afterwards generally denoted "an ancient saying," or something similar and analogous.

order to vindicate the rights of history, Thucydides, at the very outset, entered the lists against mythology; and distinct and striking traces of it even at a later period, may often be perceived.

Such a reliance on the truth of mythi, which were, at least in part, evidently fictitious, could not possibly have existed, if the source from which they first flowed were clearly discoverable in any poet. Were a poet aware that one of his predecessors had been the originator of a mythus, he would certainly place no faith in it; and if the wholesale and unconditional invention of mythi were generally the business of poets, belief would not, in any case, be accorded to them. Besides, if that were really their office, it would have continued in their hands during the progressive development of Grecian poetry; and such zeal to preserve, and such anxiety to repeat with fidelity, as are visible in many instances, would never have been evinced. It might, indeed, be said, that a primeval ante-Homeric school of bards alone enjoyed that privilege,—an idea not intrinsically absurd; but what would then become of the legends which unquestionably originated within the historical era, and which, nevertheless, hold an equal rank with the others,—that, for example, already adduced regarding the heroine Cyrene?<sup>1</sup>

But the Poets themselves, such as Pindar,—for, considering the nature of epic poetry, no information of this kind can well be expected from that source,—furnish very clear indications that, besides drawing on their predecessors, they availed themselves of popular traditions (*ἀνθρώπων παλαιὰς ῥήσις*;) and hence it is evident, that if the origin of a legend cannot

<sup>1</sup> P. 5.



be ascribed to the poets, it must have been derived from oral tradition, for there is no other alternative. The separate consideration also of many single mythi confirms this result; for they exhibit the most accurate knowledge of natural objects in the regions to which they refer, of the sanctuaries and religious observances peculiar to each, and of the circumstances and fortunes of the tribes and families by which they were inhabited. There can be no doubt, therefore, that these legends sprang up in those very regions, and among those who were familiar from their infancy with the various relations and localities; for the history of Grecian poetry will hardly admit of the supposition, that every district of Greece that abounded in legendary stories possessed its native poets, or that there were bards constantly wandering about, and searching everywhere for mythic materials. We may, then, from what has been said, conclude, with sufficient conviction, that the source of the mythus is to be found, for the most part, in oral tradition; and that this was also the fountain from which the earliest epic poets drew, which flowed on to Pindar, and long after, but at length turbid, even to Pausanias, and from which the body of mythology continued to receive constant accessions.<sup>1</sup> So that, when an ancient poet glances at a mythus which is given at length by a later author, we are assuredly not entitled from this circumstance merely, to assert, as has been done, that the passage in the former is always the ground-work, or *fundus totius fabulæ*.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Herodorus, for instance, added the traditional stories of his native city, Heraclea, to the legends regarding Hercules. Dorians, vol. i. p. 527.

But in order, if possible, to prevent all misapprehension, it must be remarked, that popular tradition, to which we ascribe a higher antiquity, and also, at the same time, a higher authority than to the poetical mythus, does not, of course, comprehend everything that was said by any sort of persons among the people. What the Cicerone, the ἐξηγητής of any sanctuary, (a class of persons learnedly handled by Thorlacius,) related to travellers whom he led about, might have been an idle invention of his own, or one of his predecessors, for the purpose of attracting a more numerous and profitable resort. He might even have taken it from some author. We have no doubt that, during antiquity, popular stories were frequently derived from books, as has been practised in more recent times; witness the tales of the Lake Hertha, the battle of Teutoburg, &c. Traditional accounts of heroes which were universally diffused by the poets, took root in many different places, often merely from some similarity of name. Priests and guardians of temples, also, in order to dignify the institution to which they belonged, might appropriate something they had heard regarding other temples, or invent something of a like nature. Finally, the prevailing tendencies of Greek literature, must have had some slight influence on the people in general, and thus also on the tone and character of their narrations; and poetical fancies, pragmatism and the-etymological mania, gave quite a different form to many a legend in the very mouths of the people. All this, however, does not invalidate what has been said above; for the high antiquity of the legend is, on the whole, nothing

affected by these retro-active causes. Traditions which were generally current among poets and prose-writers, during the full bloom of Hellenic refinement, could not have been, at their origin, mere idle inventions. We know further, and of this ample proof will be furnished in the following sections, how fondly the Greeks clung, especially in earlier times, to their old traditions; how the same mythi continued, for many centuries, in one district; and how races and families carried their legends with them to remote regions, where they again took root and spread.

But, before proceeding further, I must endeavour to establish another point; otherwise I should probably, with many readers, lay myself open to continued and constant contradiction with regard to all that follows. This is the position: that what has been already laid down as to the nature of the mythus in general, applies to it not merely as it was handled by the poets, but holds good of it also in the shape of popular tradition; that the Actual and the Imaginary, the Real and the Ideal, already coexisted even in the original form. There are many who seem to think, on the contrary, that tradition was of an historical nature, and that all sorts of ideas and fancies were blended with it, by the ancient poets, for the purpose of embellishment. They must, then, have made use of the gods as mere machines, in order to give life and interest to their narrations; as was certainly practised at a later, and perhaps also, in many instances, at an earlier, period. But it may be very easily shown, from an examination of the mythi, that the poets were guided by the analogy of those already existing; and that, generally speaking, fact

and idea, matters of faith and matters of experience, were combined in the mythus, even previously to its poetical modification. That local accuracy, from which we deduced local origin, is also observable even in its ideal constituents, particularly where reference is made to the service of the gods. We know, for example, with certainty, that the fable of HYLAS, the favourite boy of Hercules, who was stolen by the nymphs, and whom the hero called for in vain through mountains and valleys, arose from a religious rite which was observed in the neighbourhood of Cios in Bithynia, where a god, who had sunk into the waters, was invoked and bewailed at the fountains amid the hills. For it cannot at all be supposed that this sacred observance had its origin in the fable, especially as the Mariandynians, an aboriginal nation in a remoter part of Asia Minor, practised precisely the same ceremony, and its religious meaning is rendered clear by analogies.<sup>1</sup> Now, if the mythus, then, sprang from the rite, by whom, I ask, was it most likely to have been formed? By the inhabitants of Cios, who themselves heard the lamentations, and would surely be the first to appropriate the tales of the peasantry, and incorporate them with the Hellenic legends of Hercules? or the Lacedæmonian poet Cinæthon, who was probably the first to introduce it into poetry?<sup>2</sup> I think there cannot be a doubt as to the answer. Further, the Ideal is often so closely interwoven, so inseparably connected with the Real, that the mythus must have evidently owed its first existence to their union and reciprocal fusion; and if the Ideal therein

<sup>1</sup> See Orch., p. 293. Dor., vol. i. pp. 367, 459.

<sup>2</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 539.

should be the work of the poet, we must immediately ascribe to him the Real also. Thirdly, a mythus is often entirely ideal, and contains no history of actual events, although it evidently sprang up in a particular spot, and was formed by the inhabitants of a single district. Let the mythus of CALLISTO, which we have already analyzed, serve as an example, as it is one whose original form we have ascertained:—Callisto, representing Artemis as the nourisher of wild animals in field and forest, and the goddess of blooming strength, appears in Arcadia in the form of a bear. Now, this is purely imaginary; for no such goddess ever came within the sphere of sensible experience, or appeared in the shape of a bear. The characteristic idea of this mythus evidently originated among the people of Arcadia: for any other would not have laid the scene in a country to which they were strangers; and Arcadia probably never produced epic poets.

Now, if the peculiar mixture of idea and reality, which forms the characteristic feature of mythology, belongs to the original constitution of the mythus, the question will naturally occur, How can this be reconciled with the fact just established, that it was held to be true, and became an object of faith? “This Ideal,” some one might say, “is nothing else than poetic fiction and invention, clothed in the narrative form.” But an invention of this kind cannot, without a miracle, be simultaneously made by many individuals; for it would require a peculiar coincidence of design, conception, and execution. “It was surely, therefore, the work of one person.” But how, then, did he convince all others of the reality, the substantiality of his invention? Shall we suppose

him to have been an impostor, who contrived to persuade them by all sorts of deceit and illusion—perhaps by forming a confederacy with others of the same stamp with himself, who would testify to the people, that what he had devised was verified by their observation? Or shall we imagine him to have been a more highly-gifted person, a more exalted being, than his countrymen; and that, therefore, they placed reliance on what he said: receiving from him as a sacred revelation those mythi, under which he veiled salutary truths designed for their instruction? But it cannot possibly be proved that such a caste or sect, either of cunning knaves or sublime personages, existed in ancient Greece. Many, indeed, may point at the priests; but they ought first to show that there really was a priesthood so widely separated from the laity, and so strongly contrasted with it, particularly in respect of knowledge. Besides, this artificial system of deception—whether it was clumsy or refined, selfish or philanthropic—is quite at variance with the noble simplicity of those ages, unless the impression made on our minds by the earliest productions of Greek genius be entirely illusory. We come, therefore, to the conclusion, that even a single inventor of a mythus, in the proper sense of the word, is out of the question. But whither does this reasoning lead? Evidently to nothing else than that the idea altogether of *invention*—that is, of a free and deliberate treatment, by which something, known to be untrue, was clothed in the semblance of truth—must be left out of consideration, as quite inapplicable to the origin of the mythus; or, in other words, that a species of necessity led to that combination of the

Real and Imaginary which is observed in the mythus; that its framers were governed by impulses which operated alike on all; that these opposite elements grew up together; and that those who were instrumental to the union, were themselves unconscious of the difference. It is this idea, of a certain *necessity* and *unconsciousness* in the formation of the ancient mythi, that we wish to impress. When that is once conceived, it will also be easy to see that the dispute, as to whether the mythus proceeded from one or from many, from the poet or from the people, even where there is otherwise room for it, does not affect the main point. For if one individual,—the relater,—in devising a mythus, only obeys the promptings which act equally on the minds of others,—the listeners,—he is merely the mouth-piece through which they all speak, the skilful exponent who first gives form and expression to what all desire to express. It is possible, however, that the idea of this necessity and unconsciousness may appear dark and even mystical to many of our archæologists: for no other reason than because this tendency to form mythi has nothing analogous in our modern modes of thinking. But ought not history to recognise even what is strange, when we are led to it by dispassionate investigation? Perhaps the subject will be rendered more clear by an example. We shall give the one already quoted from the first book of the Iliad. Let us suppose that the story of CHRYSES was a genuine mythus, a received tradition, and that the possible events contained in it—the rape of the priest's daughter, and the pestilence among the Greeks—were also real. In that case, it can readily be conceived, that all

those who knew the facts, and had faith in Apollo's power to avenge and punish, would immediately and simultaneously connect them together, and would express their belief, that Apollo sent the pestilence at the prayer of his priest, with as firm a conviction as if it were a thing which they had themselves known and witnessed. Here the myth-forming activity makes but a slight step; but I have chosen this example for that very reason. Perhaps, however, it was in reality greater; for the supposition that everything in this mythus that *may be fact is fact*, was perfectly gratuitous. In most cases it is far more considerable, and the activity in question more complicated, as more than *one* circumstance influenced the origin of the mythus. Thus, to give another example, the mythus of APOLLO and MARSYAS, although by no means one of the oldest, contains two kinds of material blended together. At the festivals of Apollo the lyre was usually played; and his pious votaries were necessarily led to regard the god himself as the inventor of the instrument. In Phrygia, again, the flute was indigenous; and it was in the same way ascribed to Marsyas, a native dæmon. The ancient Hellenians felt that the latter was in its inherent character opposed to the other. Apollo, they fancied, must have detested the hollow and shrill notes of the flute, and Marsyas himself too. Nay, more, he must have conquered him, in order that the lyre-playing Greek might esteem the invention of the god as the nobler instrument. But why must the luckless Phrygian have been also flayed, of all things? The cause is simply this: In a grotto beside the fortress of Celænæ in Phrygia, from which the stream or



cataract Marsyas gushes forth,<sup>1</sup> a wine-skin was suspended, which the Phrygians called the skin of Marsyas.<sup>2</sup> The reason why it was a wine-skin is explained by the fact, that Marsyas, in his attributes, resembled the Grecian Silenus; indeed, he is even called Silenus by Herodotus. He was, doubtless, a dæmon in whom the juicy exuberance of nature was symbolized, and hence also a god of fountains. But when a Greek, or a Phrygian of Hellenic culture, saw the skin, he would at once infer what was the fate of Marsyas. "Here still hangs his hide in form of a wine-skin. Apollo caused him to be flayed." In all this there is no arbitrary exercise of invention. This thought might occur to many at the same time; and whoever first expressed it, knew that the rest, having been nurtured with the same ideas, would not for a moment doubt the force of his conclusion. But the main reason why mythi in general are not more simple in their original structure, arises from the fact that, for the most part, they did not start at once into existence, but were slowly and gradually fashioned, in the course of centuries, into the form in which we now possess them, under the influence of the most diversified circumstances and events, both external and internal, whose impressions were all taken up by tradition, which, living on from age to age in the mouths of the people, without any written record to arrest and fix it, must necessarily have been subject to constant fluctuation. This is a fact equally obvious and important; but still, however, it is often disregarded by mythic interpreters: for

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Salmas. *ad Solin.*, 580.

<sup>2</sup> Herod., vii. 26. Plat. *Euthydem.*, 285. Xenoph. *Anab.*, i. 2. 8.

they consider the mythus as an allegory, which is invented at once by a particular person, with the express design of concealing a thought in the form of a narrative. In the case of an allegory, you require only to find the key in order to obtain an explanation of the whole story: not so with the mythus. Its interpretation, for the most part, consists in nothing more than the indication of its origin; its genesis must be discovered and demonstrated. We must, so to speak, undo the various activities by which it was woven together into a whole. It is impossible, therefore, to enter mythology, as it were, by a *salto mortale*, and then undertake the office of interpreter with some notion of subjective evidence. We must approach the mythus by a thousand different ways ere we can hope to find its fundamental cause, its real centre and nucleus, its *punctum saliens*.

However, this again is a point where we must of necessity, in order not to speak of a part as if it were the whole, divide mythi into two classes, the difference between which must have struck every one who has paid much attention to the subject. It may even be discovered in the circumstance, that the one class presents far greater obstacles to explanation than the other, which may be said to court interpretation. On a more minute consideration, we find in the former *the most multifarious and heterogeneous materials* combined into a whole; for, while certain names and actions evidently belong to the service of a deity, others again bear reference to the local circumstances of the district from which the mythus derived its origin,—to the ancient social relations of the people, and so forth. These legends

form a web woven with threads of every variety in kind and colour; and should we desire to ascertain what are its constituents, we must take it asunder with the utmost caution: an extremely troublesome operation; but, at the same time, doubly remunerating and attractive, from the manifold profits it will yield. To give an example, (perhaps others may be clearer to others,) the Minyans, an ancient Thessalian and Bœotian tribe, had a religious worship, wherein the Athamantidæ, a house of high rank, were represented as bearing a curse, (which was again itself symbolically grounded in the legends regarding the ancestor of the race;) in consequence of which the members of the family, in order to avoid being offered up as victims—a destiny suspended over them by the angry god—were often obliged to take refuge in distant lands. For the purpose of bringing home from a far country, mythically called *Aîa*, the soul of one of these fugitives, and also the skin of the animal he had sacrificed in room of himself, the *Μινῶαι* fitted out an expedition; and having succeeded in their object, returned under the protection of Hera, the goddess of the country.<sup>1</sup> But this expedition bent its course towards the Black Sea,—the same direction in which the Minyans of Iolcus and Orchomenus undertook voyages, and established colonies. Subsequent additions to geographical knowledge at length fixed its destination, and the position of *Aîa* at Colchis on the Phasis. Even this slight sketch of the main purport, clearly shows that real and imaginary ingredients of various kinds are so intricately interwoven, that it would be quite impossible to carry out the separation

<sup>1</sup> Medea was originally but little different from Hera.

of a so-called philosopheme and an historical tradition. It would be impossible from this circumstance alone, that all the ideal portion does not consist of general notions which are common to all ages and nations, but has been devised in a way altogether defined by very peculiar conditions, and is in its nature *positive*. If I had room to follow here, as I have attempted to do in another work, all the ramifications of this mythus, and to exhibit the entire contents of the legend, the same result would probably stand out in a more distinct and definite manner.

We come now to the other class of mythi. These are much more harmonious in their character, and bear indeed a closer affinity to *allegory*. We can here recognise a complete chain of ideas presented in mythic language. A striking example is afforded by the story which relates how Prometheus, "Forethought," stole fire from heaven, and became the instructor of man in the industrious trades and useful arts; and how the gods, in order to frustrate the aim of this striving, sent the all-gifted Pandora, who found access to Epimetheus, "Afterthought," and introduced upon earth whatever evils are wont to attend labour and industry. Although this story, as it is told by Hesiod in his "Works and Days," and in the "Theogony," is in many points inconsistent and confused, it is evident that, as regards the main subject, it was not formed by degrees, but must have emanated at once from some inventive mind, imbued with the mythic spirit. It may be called an historical philosopheme. Hence, the philosophical poet Epicharmus, even made it the subject of a drama, entitled, *Pyrrha and Prometheus*; and historical

sophisms were already linked to it by the ancient sophists.<sup>1</sup> The poets, too, were always alive to the allegorical signification of the names: thus, Pindar humorously calls Excuse a daughter of Afterthought. In like manner the juxtaposition of Prometheus, Epimetheus, Atlas, and Menœtius, in Hesiod, as sons of Japetus, is manifestly an invention of a somewhat allegorical nature, designed to embody, in mythic language, the four leading characteristics of the human race, at the head of which stands the Titan Japetus: for it is evident from the names, appellatives, and actions of the four brothers, that the two first are opposed to each other in respect of *νοῦς*, the other two in regard to *θυμὸς* (the appetitive faculty.) Atlas is, as the name imports, the patient, the enduring, (ΤΛΑΣ, with the A intensive,) the strong-willed, as Hesiod calls him,<sup>2</sup> who *τετληότι Συμφῶ* explores the seas and the stars. On the other hand, in Menœtius, the impetuous, (Hesiod calls him *ὑπερκύδαντα* and *ριστήν*,) the *θυμὸς* rises to frantic insolence, and hurries him into Erebus.

We may mention another mythus, which partakes in the highest degree of the allegorical character. Indeed, according to the definition in the first chapter, it cannot properly be called a mythus, even in regard to form, for it does not relate an isolated action, but an habitual occurrence. We refer to the Homeric fable of the *Αἰταὶ*, "Humble Prayers," who are called daughters of great Zeus, because he protects those who implore his aid. They are represented as following with halting steps the fierce and headlong *Ἄτρη*, "Blind Passion," who is also called a

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> V., p. 509.

daughter of Zeus, because he gives and takes away reason, and endeavouring to overtake her in order to repair the mischief she has occasioned.<sup>1</sup>

Now, it will doubtless be asked by those who bear in mind the above exposition of our view of the origin of the mythus, What now becomes of that unconsciousness and necessity which are essential to the idea of genuine myth-invention? Is it not perfectly clear that he who first related the story of Prometheus and Epimetheus was quite conscious of embodying two ideas of human character in individual personages? I would first meet this question with another, while I take the subject, as it were, at its opposite end. Is it not manifest that Prometheus stands visibly personified before Æschylus, and that the poet has little more doubt of his existence than of that of Zeus himself? Does not the same also hold good of Hesiod, who assuredly does not look upon his ἀκάκητα Προμηθεὺς as an allegorical image, but as a corporeal being? "If so, then the error must have arisen in the interval between the authors of the Theogony and the allegory, and what was in truth pure fiction came to be regarded as an historical relation." But how can this be conceived, when the receiver understood just as well as the narrator, not only the signification of the name, but its agreement with the action, and they both had obviously attained a substantially corresponding degree of refinement.

Hence it follows, that we must banish the idea of strict allegory even from the first beginnings of such a narration. The following consideration will perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Il. ix. 502, comp. xix. 91.

show how this can be done. It is to be remarked beforehand, that the class of mythi in question are evidently less ancient than those we formerly discussed: the latter, affording clear indications of their original structure, having been exposed to the modifying influence of very different ages; while the former contain, if any at all, comparatively slight traces of such influence. Besides, the mythi which bear some apparent affinity to allegory, unquestionably belong, on the whole, to a later epoch than the worship of the gods; (with which, however, as will be more distinctly pointed out in the sequel, the older mythus was, in its origin, most intimately connected.) Prometheus, therefore, was nowhere worshipped in Greece, except that the ancient guild of potters at Athens, (*κεοαυεῖς*) seem to have consecrated to him, as patron of their craft, an altar, if it really was one, in the sanctuary of Athena and Hephæstus, between the Academy and the Colonus Hippius.<sup>1</sup> Neither is Prometheus a hero. He is never named as such, and stood originally severed from all heroic genealogies: for it is nowhere hinted at, at least in the "Works and Days," or the "Theogony," that he was, through Deucalion, the ancestor of the Hellenic nation. The Promethean mythi are therefore, perhaps, later than the formation of the heroögonies in general. Accordingly, they came into existence at a time when the minds of men already swarmed with mythi of deep import, which produced also a more fresh and powerful impression than in after ages, when the distance from their source was in-

<sup>1</sup> See T. H. *ad Lucian*. T. i., p. 196, sq. Welcker, *Prometh.*, pp. 69, 120.

creased. Religion had placed before the eyes of mankind, in personified deities, the administration throughout nature, and the invisible aid of a higher power. It became a general habit to concentrate *every form of spiritual existence whose unity was recognised, into an apex which necessarily appeared to the mind as a personal entity.* Can it be imagined, that Δίκη, Θέμις, Μῆτις, Μοῦσα, Χάρις, Ἥβη, Ἐρινός, Ἐρίς, could have attained a generally believed reality, and even in some measure divine worship, otherwise than through a necessity, grounded on the epoch of mental development, to contemplate in this manner as a unity, not only every aspect of nature, but also of human life? How were it possible to pray to Charis, if she were only viewed as a predicate of human or higher natures? It is even wrong to consider the worship paid by the Romans to Virtus, Felicitas, &c., as allegorical in the strict sense; for then it could be no worship at all. Here we have to deal with a mode of contemplating the world, which is quite foreign to our notions, and in which it is difficult for us to enter. It is not incumbent on the historical investigation of mythology to ascertain the foundations on which it rests. This must be left to the highest of all historical sciences,—one whose internal relations are scarcely yet dreamt of,—the history of the human mind.

Now, if the formation of mythi, at a particular period, were grounded on a certain necessity of intuition, it might have continued, by the irresistible force of habit, after that necessity had ceased to exist. Earlier ages thought in this manner; those that followed thought alike, and widened the ancient



sphere of thought by analogies, while the consciousness was gradually dawning upon them, that they had only to do with a certain form of representation. I will not assert, however, that the mythus of Prometheus already stands on this middle step, as it may be even imagined to have sprung from the previous activity. A preceding age, let us suppose, had already personified, in a *dæmon*, the faculty of forethought, and constituted it, as the highest attribute of man, the representative of the human race in the Titanic world. It was also quite natural that the opposite quality, not less easily observable in mankind, should be associated with him as a brother. Now, any one who perceived that all human industry depends on the possession of fire, but who was, at the same time, often faint and weary with the curse of labour; and who, moreover, dreamt, like all antiquity, of a lost paradise, a golden age of rest and peace, must have readily ascribed the gift of fire to the hero of skilful industry, and easily imagined, too, the indignation it excited in the gods, who punished the restless and presumptuous strivings of man with the loss of pristine happiness, and even laid in bonds and fetters his daring intellect, which is ever apt to soar beyond its boundaries. I am convinced, that whoever can enter into the mode of thinking and intuition which belonged to primitive humanity will perceive, that what Hesiod relates of Prometheus is a mythus, and not an allegory.

It may be gathered, however, from what we have said, that a mythus of this kind was more liable to alterations from poets and other writers than one of the former class; for this reason, that its meaning

was more obvious. These alterations have, for the most part, their foundation in this very fact, that the mythus was held to be true; for precisely on that account was it of importance that it should be adapted to the state of knowledge and the ideas prevailing at the time when it was handled. The person, therefore, and the main action, were allowed to remain, but other motives and spiritual relations, suggested by a feeling of internal necessity, were assigned to them; and thereby the inmost essence, the idea in the mythus, was fashioned anew, without any consciousness of the change on the part of those by whom it was effected. Thus, the plodding and industrious Prometheus could possess but little significance to Æschylus, the profound and cultivated Athenian; and was transformed, therefore, in the mind of the poet, to an entirely different character, one of a more speculative import. In the heroic mythus, also, changes are introduced, in accordance with the same law, but in a more external way, because here the ideas lie more concealed. For example, at every extension of geographical knowledge, the adventures and voyages of Hercules, the Argonauts, and other heroes, in like manner, took a wider range, and had their limits removed to a greater distance: for how could all the mighty beings of whom such gigantic conceptions were cherished, find scope for their achievements, if hemmed within the narrow space between the Hellespont and Crete?

## CHAPTER V.

*On the Determination of the Age of a Mythus from the  
Mention of it in Authors.*

By the exposition in the preceding chapter, I have also sought to obviate the *tendency to confound the literary aids to a knowledge of the mythus with its sources properly so called*; which is one of the most dangerous errors in this study, inasmuch as it *defeats investigation beforehand*. For on this tendency is founded the notion, that in the history of Greek mythi nothing more is required, than to point out in what poet or author a mythus first appears, and to determine its age accordingly. This notion is seldom so roundly expressed, but it evidently lies at the bottom of many mythological investigations; and, in particular, is frequently employed in order to separate Homeric and post-Homeric mythology. But, in the first place, this method can never yield a scientific connexion, as, on the one hand, the most important literary sources of the mythus have been lost: for where are to be found the ante-Homeric Hymns, Argonautics, Heracleas, Iliads—those lays, each of which had in its day the highest renown?<sup>1</sup> Where that long succession of poets who followed Homer in the epos? And as, on the other hand, the great mass of mythi have only come to us through compilers, without any information as to the poet who

<sup>1</sup> Od., viii. 74. Comp., i. 351.

first treated them. But, in the second place, even if we were in possession of the most complete mythic literature, both in prose and poetry, we should still be unable to determine how far any writer's knowledge of mythi extended. For we certainly cannot, in all cases, infer ignorance from silence. I am touching upon a question which, although it is of great importance and calls loudly for an answer, has usually been cunningly evaded; and the assumption has been gratuitously formed, that as Homer evinces a tolerably connected knowledge of the business of life at that time, he also contains a complete system of mythology. Now, then, what must the poet notice that it may not be inferred he was quite ignorant of it? How far does "eloquent silence" extend? Where does the utterly unimportant and insignificant cease? "No one will require that the poet, besides the mythus which it is his business to treat, should mention every local tradition, every insignificant mythological personage, of whom he may have accidentally heard; he should, however, introduce important mythi, distinguished heroes, if he knew about them." But where is the boundary of that which is of so much moment that it must necessarily force itself somewhere on the poet's attention? So far as I can understand, all is here uncertain—all arbitrary; and I look around in vain for a criterion by which a philosophical procedure may be directed. However, there are unquestionably passages in the poets, especially Homer, in which ignorance of certain mythi is manifested in a more decided manner; and which evidently would have been different from what they are, if these mythi had been known to them. This only

brings us, however, to the third position. *A poet's ignorance of a mythus, is no proof whatever of its non-existence.* How did Homer come to the knowledge of a mythus? Nobody will believe that the entire mythology of Greece was at that period already embodied in song; it lived, for the most part, merely in the mouths of the people throughout the various districts of Greece. Now, can we imagine that the bard wandered from place to place, inquiring everywhere, and collecting the stories current among the people regarding their heroes and their gods? Such a striving after comprehensive and philosophical knowledge is utterly foreign to the character of those early poetic ages; and, moreover, such a search after mythi would have been to Homer perfectly useless, as it was not his design to sing all the combats and deeds of the olden heroic time, but merely a portion of the Trojan war. In the north of Thessaly, therefore, at Delphi, and elsewhere, a rich abundance of legends—telling of ancient cities destroyed, of flourishing sanctuaries, of Hyperboreans, and so forth—might have existed, without the slightest echo of them having ever reached the ears of Homer. Let us only try to give ourselves an answer to the question, What, then, ought to be the geographical extent of Homer's legendary lore? "It is certainly not required that he should—not to speak of a wider circuit—be conversant with Phrygian and Thracian legends; but those of Epirus, Thessaly, and Ætolia, must be supposed in part to have had no existence, because he seems to have been unacquainted with them"! Besides, I have said nothing here yet of the probability that Homer may have passed over in silence

many things which he knew right well, not from systematic design, or prudent calculation, (for instance, because he may possibly have been unfavourable to certain religious views,) but from a feeling that they were unsuitable to his style of poetry; and for this reason, also, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as isolated human productions, could not possibly exhibit all the tendencies of the human mind. Thus, it seems to me clear, that a poet who several times calls bread the "gift of Demeter," had daily opportunity of thanking, with devotional feeling, the benignant goddess; but we can even now understand why the mystic Earth-mother could not with propriety be introduced into the circle of the gods contending about Troy, and so actively interested in behalf of the heroes. Homer could, therefore, only take a passing notice of the mythi relating to Demeter when a particular opportunity offered; and he did so twice. Now, bearing this in view, what conclusion can altogether be drawn from the fact, that there are very few mythi of mystical strain and tenor to be found in Homer? Not, assuredly, that there existed no more; or that, even in these few, what appears mystical can be explained away: but only, perhaps, that the mystical element of religion could not have predominated in the Grecian people, for whom Homer sang, to such a degree as to fill the hearts and the minds of all; for otherwise the poems of Homer, in which that element is but little regarded, would scarcely have afforded universal pleasure and satisfaction.

I think I may conclude, that a truly critical inquirer will, from no mention of a mythus being made

in Homer, or other ancient poets, at the utmost consider himself justified in deciding, that it was not known at that time in the district where the poet lived and sang; and thus far even, only if the mention of it might have otherwise readily occurred to him, and if it was in accordance with the plan of the poem, in keeping with the whole. But in order to prove the non-existence of the mythus, arguments of greater weight, and drawn from a deeper source, are required. *The mythus itself, comprehended in the process of its formation, can alone solve the question as to its age*: if it be first granted that any particular narration is a mythus, and not a literary fiction: for so soon as we have assured ourselves of the latter, we know also, at the same time, that we can no longer reach the primary source of the mythus, no longer hear the evidence of its real framers. No *external* authentic testimony, therefore, to the age of a mythus can be obtained. For even supposing an ancient author said to us, "This mythus was formed at such a time, and in such circumstances;" a statement of this kind could be nothing more than a philosophical conclusion, of which we should ourselves require to undertake the proof; for the earlier transmitters of the mythus—poets for the most part—did not hand it down as a fabrication, but as a fact. The main point, therefore, is to take counsel with the mythus itself as to its origin, and consequently as to its age. For my own part, to give an example, unless I felt convinced that I had successfully taken this course, I should never have ventured to pronounce the story of Sais in Egypt being the native place of Cecrops, a production of comparatively recent times, and to exclude it

entirely, in that form, from the rank of mythi.<sup>1</sup> I should not have been enabled to do so merely because the epic poets and logographers are silent on the subject, and even partly contain what is adverse. Such roundabout inquiries, as Creuzer has well remarked, do not lead to the point. But I thought, and still think, I had shown that the mythic fraternization of the Saitans and Athenians had its natural root in the presence of the Ionians at Sais, when the strangers saw in Neith, who was worshipped there, their native Athenæa. I thought that I was able to follow, step by step, the gradual growth of the story; and that I had pointed out, besides, a series of analogous and kindred phenomena.

At the same time, however, it cannot be denied that an accurate *chronological arrangement of the evidences* would be extremely advantageous, nay necessary, to the study of mythology; but its application must be guided by a very cautious judgment. Such an arrangement may, in favourable cases, furnish an actual history of a mythus. Suppose that three authors, of different ages, relate a mythus differently, and that the discrepancies may be perfectly accounted for by the altered spirit of the age or the narrators; the shape in which it is given by the oldest is, of course, the relatively original form, and it, therefore, must be the starting-point for further investigation. It may, indeed, also happen that the later as well as the earlier author makes use of the genuine legend, and communicates from it something more essential to a right understanding of it than the other. In that case, the literary determination of time is, of

<sup>1</sup> Orch., p. 106 sqq.



course, at an end, so far as regards this new information. But such investigations, also, very frequently enable us to separate, in the narrations of mythi, the original groundwork from the additions of poets and other authors, and to show that these are from their hands, and in their spirit as well as the spirit of their age. We thus learn from individual instances, in which the supplementary portion can be clearly made out, to determine its character in general, and even to undertake the separation in other cases. If we know, for instance, from authentic sources, how the dramatic writers gave a more tragic turn to certain mythi,—among other examples, the Medea of Euripides<sup>1</sup> now occurs to me,—we may perhaps ascertain, by analogy, how much has been added by the *περιπέτεια* in other cases. Nay, investigation here must lead still farther. It enables us, even in the case of mythi which have been transmitted to us by later compilers, to discover their former source from the style of narration, and to find out, therefore, at what period they were related in that particular form. It is easy to conceive how important this must be for the critical treatment of the mythus. Such a study of the literary sources in chronological order, and such an arrangement of mythi according to their literary sources, often furnish us with the means of entirely excluding a mythus from the class of genuine mythi, and assigning it its place among pure inventions. Suppose I find that a story did not exist before the time of Pragmatism, and that it has otherwise the appearance of having been devised as a connecting link between others, as

<sup>1</sup> Orch., p. 270.

a means of attaining pragmatical coherence, I cannot well regard it any longer as a mythic tradition. By this method of criticism we can often go so far as to decide with certainty the age of something connected with the mythus, but not of a mythic nature. Of the mythus itself, however, we shall be able to say nothing, further than that it was formed before the time when the poet handled it: how long before, his mention of it by itself cannot instruct us. It may have been formed at so early a period, that, as a mythus, it had become quite extinct, and was nowhere current among the people at the time of the author, who was the first, *so far as we are concerned*, to take notice of it.

Since, therefore, the mere inquiry into the age of the *evidences* is so little calculated to advance our aim, we must try to find other ways and means of determining the age of a mythus. The main point is to comprehend the mythus at its origin; and in order to this, its true explanation is necessary. Without entering into this, we here seek merely for *preliminary* data. Such must be found, if we can establish a chain of connexion between mythi and facts in authentic history—either their contemporaneous existence, or the evolution of the one from the other. We shall try whether it can be shown, that a mythus already existed when a particular event took place; and, secondly, that it could not possibly have come into existence, but for some such particular event. Data of the latter sort are of especial importance; and even those of the former are by no means useless, inasmuch as they sometimes lead us far beyond the literary evidences.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Determination of the Age of Myths from Historical Events.*

SUCH historical events are especially the establishment of colonies. It seems proper that a number of examples, although forming but a small portion of those otherwise obtained by investigation, should be here adduced; as the importance of this species of research to the science in general is not yet equally evident to all.

1. BYZANTIUM was founded in the 30th Olympiad by Megarians. Among them there were also Argives, if, indeed, these did not precede them. The only evidence of this, however, is a later writer, Hesychius Milesius;<sup>1</sup> but, according to his own account, he drew largely on ancient poets and historians. This, I think, was the best source he could have. For as Hera, the ancient tutelar goddess of Argos, was honoured under the appellative of 'Αρπαία at the Argive fortress of Larissa,<sup>2</sup> she was, in like manner, put in possession of a citadel at Byzantium.<sup>3</sup> Dionysius, the Byzantine, speaks thus of an eminence within the city—"Ille locus Junonia Acra dicitur, ubi quotannis victimas primo anni die mactat gens Megarica, (which expression here denotes merely the ancient inhabitants.) Further, as the legends of Io (in connexion with the worship of Hera) had their locality at Argos, and the place was pointed out

<sup>1</sup> In Παρ. Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, P. 3. p. 60. Orelli.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan., ii. 24, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson, *Geogr. min.*, T. iii. p. 2.

where she had grazed as a cow ;<sup>1</sup> so also, at Byzantium, was Io said to have grazed on the tongue of land called Ceras, "the Horn," at the confluence of the streams Barbyzes and Cydarus, and to have brought forth a daughter, Κερόεσσα "the Horned One," mother of Byzas,<sup>2</sup> the hero of the city. It seems to me clear that the name Bosporus, "Cow-ford," has some connexion with these mythi; that the Byzantines applied it to the strait in honour of their legendary cow; and that the tradition of Io having swum across, originated in this way.<sup>3</sup> Hence it follows that the Argives, who emigrated to Byzantium, were already acquainted with the mythus of Io, and her transformation; for Argos and Byzantium had never afterwards so much intercourse as to occasion so remarkable a migration of mythi and religious worship. But it follows, secondly, that in the history of the wanderings of Io, in the course of which she swims across the Hellespont,<sup>4</sup> legends are contained, of which, at least, the one just referred to *did not exist until the 30th Olympiad*.<sup>5</sup>

2. But most of the Byzantine sanctuaries were transferred from MEGARA, the metropolis, as it was called by way of eminence. In Megara flourished the worship of Apollo; and, in particular, an ancient temple, dedicated to him, stood on the Acropolis, looking towards the sea. The god himself was said to have assisted Alcatous in building the citadel. While thus employed, according to the legend, he laid his harp upon a stone, of which it was asserted,

<sup>1</sup> Apollod., ii. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Dionys., p. 5. Hesych., 6. p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> It had already appeared in the heroic poem Ægimius, Dor., vol. i. p. 34<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Æschylus, Prom. 726.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Dor., vol. i. p. 138.

in later times, that, when struck with a pebble, it gave forth a sound like that of a harp-string.<sup>1</sup> This might have been deemed a story of recent invention, if it were not also found at Byzantium. Apollo is said to have built this city also, in conjunction with Poseidon. Here, too, he laid his harp upon a tower, and thereby produced, not merely the ringing of a stone, but the concerted harmony of seven ancient towers.<sup>2</sup> Now, if we conclude that this legend also was transplanted at the 30th Olympiad, it may indeed be objected that amicable relations long continued to subsist between the colony and the metropolis; and that it may thus, although not invented in the latter city till long afterwards, have yet been easily conveyed to the former. The possibility of this must be admitted, but the other opinion is more probable: for the necessity of transplantation would be strongly felt at the establishment of new habitations; and a tradition only which the Byzantines knew and believed while they were still Megarians, could impress itself so deeply on their minds, as, in a certain degree, to demand localisation and renewal.

3. SYRACUSE was established by Corinthians in the 5th Olympiad.<sup>3</sup> Among the settlers, however, there were people from the neighbourhood of Olympia, particularly some members of the family of the Iamidæ, which administered the prophetic office at the altar of Olympian Zeus.<sup>4</sup> That these *συνοικιστῆρες* (to use Pindar's expression) from Olympia exercised

<sup>1</sup> Pausan., i. 42. 1. 2. Dor., vol. i. p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Hesych., 12. 13. p. 63 sqq. Dionys. Byz., p. 6. Dio Cass., 74. 14. Heyne in *Commentat. Gott. rec.*, T. i., p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 140; vol. ii. p. 514.

<sup>4</sup> Pindar, Ol. vi. 5, 6. Böckh, *Explic. Pind.*, p. 152 sq.

the greatest influence on the religious services and mythi of the new city is manifest from a variety of circumstances, particularly the following: Artemis was worshipped at Olympia as a deity connected with Alpheus, (Alpheionia, Alpheioa, Alpheiusa, Alpheiaæ,) for she was in that neighbourhood regarded chiefly as a goddess of floods, rivers, and lakes.<sup>1</sup> She had, in conjunction with Alpheus, an altar in the Altis,<sup>2</sup> and it was currently related in that district that Alpheus was enamoured of her.<sup>3</sup> According to the legend, as it was told Pausanias by the Letrinæans, the river-god was unsuccessful in his suit, and was obliged to retire with disgrace; but the surname of the goddess proves that an actual relation between them was assumed in the elder mythus. Now, people came from these quarters to Syracuse; nay, so early indeed as the original settlement, which was confined to the island of Ortygia. Here also they erected a temple to Artemis, the river-goddess, (ποταμία,) a sanctuary of so great importance that Pindar calls the entire island after it, "the seat of the river-goddess."<sup>4</sup> But there was no river in Ortygia; and Artemis still sighed for her beloved Alpheus. Then arose the belief that the fountain Arethusa, near the precincts of the temple, contained the sacred water of Alpheus;<sup>5</sup> a belief which was confirmed by the circumstance of large fish being seen in the fountain.<sup>6</sup> This belief again gave birth to the mythus that

<sup>1</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., v. 14. 5. Schol. Pind., N. i. 3., O. v. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Paus., vi. 22. 5.

<sup>4</sup> P., ii. 7. Comp. Böckh's *Explic.*, p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> Ibycus ad Schol. Theocr., i. 117.

<sup>6</sup> Diodor., v. 3. Schol. Pind., N. i. 2.

Alpheus followed the goddess to Sicily. I wish those who desire to form an accurate notion of the way in which a mythus comes into existence, would give due heed to this example; for it may here be seen, with especial distinctness, that in the genuine mythus there is nothing like deliberate contrivance. The worship of the goddess was endeared to the people by ancient usage; their native stream, too, could not be dispensed with: the legend therefore *must* be evolved. Now, the form of the Syracusan legend, as is clear from the above, was at first such, that Artemis and Alpheus were still conceived to be bound to each other by close and affectionate ties; but afterwards it was necessary that the story should receive a different turn, (somewhat as in the tradition of the Letrinæans,) when the notions of her coy virginity became prevalent throughout Greece—these being at variance with the original worship of the ποταμία. Artemis now flees before Alpheus. Thus sang Telesilla,<sup>1</sup> even about the 64th Olympiad. It is not quite clear what was Pindar's idea—whether or not he still considered the goddess herself as the object of pursuit, when he called Ortygia<sup>2</sup> “the venerated resting-place of Alpheus.” In later times, when the agreeable was sought for in preference to the significant, the goddess was no longer taken into account, and the original meaning of the mythus was thereby still more obliterated. The fountain-nymph Arethusa was substituted for Artemis, and became the shy mistress of the river-god.<sup>3</sup> I think no one, except

<sup>1</sup> Hephæst., p. 36. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Nem. i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. the excellent exposition of Dissen. *Explic. ad Nem.*, vol. i. p. 350. Dor., vol. i. p. 393.

perhaps those who can scent out priestcraft in the pious simplicity of the mythus, can doubt, after a plain consideration of these facts, that the event which took place in the 5th Olympiad gave rise to the legend.

4. CORCYRA was colonized from Corinth, probably about the same time.<sup>1</sup> At the latter place, likewise in the Acropolis, Hera was honoured as *Bouvaía* and *Ἀρπαία*, with solemn and ancient rites.<sup>2</sup> To this worship, the fable of Medea was very closely related.<sup>3</sup> It was at Corinth a local tradition, and connected with sacred observances. Now, in Corcyra, again, we find an important sanctuary, called the *Heræon*;<sup>4</sup> and together with it, the traditions regarding Medea. She was said to have here solemnized her nuptials with Jason; and the sacred grotto where they were united was still shown at the time of Apollonius the Rhodian,<sup>5</sup> as were also, in the temple of Apollo Nomius, the altars of the *Μοῖραι* and nymphs, which were reared by the bride before the ceremony, and at which, even in the time of Timæus,<sup>6</sup> yearly sacrifices were offered up.<sup>7</sup> It is clear that these mythi were carried over by the Corinthian settlers, and have come down, therefore, from the date of colonisation; especially as, not long afterwards, Corcyra became much estranged from the mother-city. Besides, it is to be remarked, that at the time of their transit, that marriage was understood in a more ideal, or, if I may, at this point, use the

<sup>1</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan., ii. 4. 7. Comp. Siebelis and Orch., p. 269.

<sup>3</sup> Orch. ib.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd., i. 24; iii. 75, 79.

<sup>5</sup> IV. 1153.

<sup>6</sup> Apoll., iv. 1217, and the Schol.

<sup>7</sup> Orch., p. 297.



expression, in a more symbolical sense ; for to Hesiod and Alcman, Medea was a divine being.<sup>1</sup> She is, therefore, viewed in the Theogony as one who, sprung from the race of gods, wedded herself to a mortal.<sup>2</sup>

5. The inhabitants of the Rhodian city, Lindus, founded Gela in Sicily, and PHASELIS, on the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia, about the 16th Olympiad.<sup>3</sup> Two Lindians, brothers even according to some, the one called Antiphemus, the other Lacijs, are said to have applied at the same time to the Delphic oracle. The god directed the former to travel to the west, and the latter to the east, Lacijs, therefore, became the founder of Phaselis.<sup>4</sup> Now, we know that Lacijs was a Cretan name, and only another form for Rhacius; for in the Cretan tongue *ῥάκος* and *λάκος* signified the same thing.<sup>5</sup> According to tradition there was a Cretan named Rhacius, who figured in the mythological period, at the foundation of the Clarian oracle.<sup>6</sup> The Cyclic Thebais, indeed, called him a Mycenæan; but it is likely that Mycenæ in Crete was thereby meant.<sup>7</sup> It was related in that ancient poem, that the heroes who conquered Thebes, sent Manto, the captive daughter of Tiresias, as a gift of honour to the Delphian god; and that, having been ordered onwards

<sup>1</sup> Athenag. legat., p. 14, ed. Colon.

<sup>2</sup> V. 992.

<sup>3</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 127; vol. ii. p. 517.

<sup>4</sup> See Aristænetus of Phaselis in Steph. Byzant, s. v. Γέλα. Comp. Athenæus, vii. 297, from Heropythus, Ὁρεὶ Κολοφωνίων, and Philostephanus, *περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων*.

<sup>5</sup> See Schneider in Nicand. Alexipharm., v. 11. p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan., vii. 3. 1.; ix. 33. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Apollon. Rh., iv. 308. Paris. Comp. Orchom., p. 148, 4.

from Delphi, she met Rhacius, to whom she became united in marriage, and founded, together with him, the Clarian oracle of Apollo, in the neighbourhood of Colophon.<sup>1</sup> Mopsus, the renowned first prophet of that sanctuary, was the son of this pair, or of Apollo and Manto.<sup>2</sup> There can be no manner of doubt, from the authorities here referred to, that there were traditions current at Clarus of a Cretan minister of Apollo, and a Thebaic prophetess, to whom the sanctuary was indebted for its existence. So much for this Rhacius or Lacius, from whom I return to Lacius, the supposed Lindian, with the assertion,—which, with so little preparation for it, may appear very bold,—that the latter, the reputed founder of Phaselis, is one and the same with the other, the ancient co-founder of the Clarian oracle; or, in other words, that the establishment of Phaselis, as well as several other cities in Pamphylia, was promoted by the coöperation of the Clarian oracle, and that, for this reason, the heroes connected with it were transplanted to the newly-acquired territory, and regarded as the founders of the new city. In order to be convinced of this identity, it is only necessary to compare some other legends; for instance, the one which ascribes the establishment of Phaselis to Mopsus, the son of Rhacius,<sup>3</sup> and another preserved by Philostephanus, which sets forth that Lacius *at the same time with Mopsus*, and sent forth, too, by the orders of Manto, established that colony.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias gives almost precisely the same account in the passages just cited; perhaps from the same source.

<sup>2</sup> Conon, 6; Pausan., vii. 3. 1. Comp. Strabo, xiv. 675; Mela, i. 17; Dor., vol. i. p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Mela, i. 14.

It will, perhaps, be understood, how the mythic guardian of the oracle in the legend could become the founder of a city in the 16th Olympiad, if we try to fancy ourselves in the situation, and enter in some measure into the spirit of the colonizing Greeks. The memory and worship of a hero always accompanied their migrations. The settlers thought themselves secure on their perilous expedition, and at their disembarkation among a strange people, through the guardianship of their native protector. How easily, then, did the legend arise, that he also, while he lived upon earth, visited those regions, and fought and dwelt there before them. Crotona was established under the auspices of Heraclidæ.<sup>1</sup> Hercules was there worshipped as *οἰκιστὰς*;<sup>2</sup> and there were not wanting legends which told of his having been there in his wanderings, and laid the first foundation of the city. Thus also was Lacijs honoured at Phaselis, because his prophet-race had helped to fit out the colony. He received the title of *οἰκιστῆς*; and, as Philostephanus relates, he must needs, with his son, Mopsus, be carried far back into the primitive ages. Others, again, converted the mythological into an historical founder, and therefore brought down Lacijs to the 16th Olympiad. This myth-forming process might be rendered still more obvious, if it were permitted to enter into the legends of the Cilician cities, Solœ, Mallos, Mopsucrene, and Mopsuestia; but the inquiry would be too lengthened for our present purpose, while the exposition I have given in the Dorians, may be, on the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 455.

not full enough for all readers.<sup>1</sup> Even what has been here communicated, however, will suffice to show, that the establishment of Phaselis, through particular circumstances, gave birth to a mythus, which, like many others, crept into history, in a disguised form. But it is also clear, at the same time, that the legend of Rhacius as founder of the oracle, must have been, at the 16th Olympiad, already in existence at Clarus. The transference to Phaselis of the mythic personages connected with the oracle, must have begun with the settlement itself: for Callinus, who flourished about the 25th Olympiad, stated, according to Strabo,<sup>2</sup> that "the prophet Calchas died at Clarus; his people were led by Mopsus across the mountain range of Taurus; some remained in Pamphylia, others dispersed themselves towards Cilicia and Syria, as far as Phœnice." Pamphylia here evidently includes Phaselis, the building of which was probably ascribed by Callinus to Mopsus; at all events he followed the legend, which did not come into existence until the 16th Olympiad, but which must have found a willing belief at the very outset. Callinus, as an Ephesian, and neighbour of the Colophonians, got it at first hand.

6. The most interesting example of the evolution of a mythus from an historical occurrence is, perhaps, the early mythic history of CYRENE, of which I shall only bring forward here what is essential to the understanding of the mythus' origin, referring to my work on Orchomenos for further details.<sup>3</sup> Cyrene

<sup>1</sup> Dor. vol. i. p. 129 sq., 256 sq.

<sup>2</sup> XIV. 668.

<sup>3</sup> P. 340-359.

was a colony from Thera, established *about the 37th Olympiad*.<sup>1</sup> The most ancient portion of the city lay surrounding the fountain sacred to Apollo,<sup>2</sup> the proper name of which was Cyre;<sup>3</sup> and there can be no doubt, that the name of the city, Cyrene, comes from Cyre, in the same way that Messene is derived from Messe, &c. The princes of Cyrene traced their descent from Euphemus, an ancient Minyan hero,<sup>4</sup> whose birth is assigned by the legends to two different places, both of which, however, belonged to that tribe, Panopeus and Hyria, in Bœotia.<sup>5</sup> But the Minyan tribe, to which the family of Euphemus belonged, had dwelt in Southern Laconia previous to the settlement on the island of Thera; and, therefore, Euphemus himself is also called a Tænarian.<sup>6</sup> Now, when the Theraic Minyans, at the behest of the Delphian oracle, founded Cyrene, subdued the Libyan barbarians, and reared a powerful city, they must have believed that their occupation of the foreign land was agreeable to the gods, and decreed by destiny. But this idea was closely allied in the imagination of the Greeks to another, viz., that this occupation was grounded on events which had occurred in the olden heroic times,—that their ancestors, by whom they thought themselves protected and accompanied, had done nearly the same

<sup>1</sup> See the grounds, Orchom., p. 344, 2; where number 2 is to be struck out. Voss has recently attempted to assign the enlargement of Cyrene by Battus II. to that period; but this Battus, according to certain data, reigned in the 52d Olympiad. Comp. Herod. ii. 161, with iv. 160, and Larcher on Volney.

<sup>2</sup> Herod., iv. 158; comp. Pind., P. iv. 294.

<sup>3</sup> Callimachus, Apoll., 88. Steph. Byz. κυρήνη; comp. Böckh, *Explic. Pind.*, p. 282.

Εὐφημίδαι τῶν Μινυέων. Herod., iv. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Orch., p. 263.

<sup>6</sup> Orch., p. 316.

thing before. Thus, therefore, an event of that nature reflected itself back into the mythic ages, and thereby received, at the same time, a justification which was gratifying to the minds of the ancient Greeks. The crowd of legends which sprang from this tendency is remarkable in the case of Cyrene; and it may instantly be perceived in all of them, that they were not deliberate inventions, but, on the contrary, were mythi which found general belief, both among Cyrenæans and strangers, because that unconsciousness of which we have already spoken, influenced their formation. One of these legends, which relates how the nymph Cyrene was conveyed by Apollo to Libya, I have already quoted. Another runs thus. EUPHEMUS took part in the Argonautic expedition, and arrived with the ship at the Tritonis, which is described in the legend, as a lake at the borders of Cyrenaica, near Irasa and Hesperis.<sup>1</sup> Here the god Triton himself appeared to the Argonauts; and snatched up in haste, having no other gift to offer the strangers, a clod of earth, which Euphemus received into his hands.<sup>2</sup> The seizure of a clod frequently occurs in the Greek legends, (as in the Roman ceremony of Vindication,) and was meant as a symbol of the investiture of land.<sup>3</sup> Thus, therefore, was the ground and soil of Cyrene conveyed by the god himself to the posterity of Euphemus, by this symbolical act. It must have been conveyed to the hero, for his descendants actually possessed it; and, according to the belief at that time, they could scarcely have held it unless the god of the neighbouring lake had given his sanction. It is plain, then,

<sup>1</sup> Orch., p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Pind., Pyth. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 99.

that the legend derived its origin from the event, and was later, therefore, than the 37th Olympiad. According to the Argonautic poet, Apollonius,<sup>1</sup> the clod was a gift exchanged for a tripod, which the Argonauts had placed on the shore of Tritonis, in honour of Apollo; and, according to Herodotus,<sup>2</sup> Triton prophesied, that if a descendant of one of the heroes should again receive the tripod into his possession, a hundred Hellenic cities would rise up around the lake. This prediction, too, was already partially realized, if we look only to the *ancient* Tritonis, near Irasa; for Battus was the descendant of an Argonaut, and the possessor, also, of the country where the tripod stood: Cyrene, moreover, began very soon to plant the surrounding region with cities. This prediction, therefore, and the mythus attached to it, are also sprung from real events, at a later period, probably, than the legend previously examined. In aftertimes, the prophecy was referred by Herodotus and others, to a more distant Tritonis; with regard to which, however, it actually remained unaccomplished, and must, therefore have become a dark and enigmatic tradition.

<sup>1</sup> IV. 1548.

<sup>2</sup> IV. 179.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Extension of this Process to the Mythic Ages.*

THE examples which have been adduced will suffice to show how a close and sure connexion between mythi and events can be ascertained, and the existence or origin of the former at a particular epoch pointed out. The events just brought under consideration are of a purely historical character, and belong to the 5th, 16th, 30th, and 37th Olympiads. We have found that they occasioned the transplantation, remodelling, expansion, and sometimes even the creation of mythi. It is asked whether similar determinations can be arrived at for earlier times; as those which have been given serve rather to prove the youth than the age of a mythus. Doubtless; only that, in the mythic ages, the events with which the origin and transplantation of mythi are connected, have been themselves communicated only by mythic narrations. But we must, according to the foregoing analogy, further conclude, that in these ages, also, the migration and new settlement of a tribe could scarcely take place without leading, at the same time, to a migration and new settlement of legends. Every special inquiry furnishes examples. I select only a few, beginning with those that lie on the confines of the historical period.

1. The first example is furnished by the position, That at the time of the Dorian migration, the tribe of TYRRHENE PELASGIANS, wandering from Bœotia to



Samothrace, brought to that island the worship and mythi of CADMUS or CADMILUS AND HARMONIA. This position seems to the author one of the most important in historical mythology; and he will, for that reason, in endeavouring to establish it, proceed with all possible caution: and, in order that the reader may have no difficulty with the proofs, he will make no reference to his own treatment of the subject elsewhere.

CADMUS was regarded at Thebes, from a very early period, as the hero who had founded the city, and his spouse HARMONIA was esteemed a native *goddess*.<sup>1</sup> She is also represented as a goddess by Hesiod,<sup>2</sup> and in one of the Homeric hymns.<sup>3</sup> In the Thebaic mythus she stands in a variety of relations to Aphrodite as the goddess of love and marriage, and was even said to be her daughter by Ares. Now, Harmonia was worshipped also in Samothrace, and, indeed, *only in Samothrace*, so far as we know. In the mysteries of that island there was a particular ceremony, in which she was searched for as one that had been lost.<sup>4</sup> Cadmus also was worshipped there, and that, too, as a god; for the old grammarians well knew that the name of the Samothracian god Cadmilus was but another form of Cadmus, as is stated in a scholium on Phavorinus:<sup>5</sup> "Cadmus is not merely a proper name, but also a surname of Hermes, of which the Cadmilus in Lycophron is a derivative and lengthened form." Hermes is called by this Lycophron<sup>6</sup> Cadmus and Cadmilus, without

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Pelopid. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Theog., 937, 975.

<sup>3</sup> To the Pyth. Ap. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Ephorus in Schol. ad Eurip., Phœn. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Eustath. ad Il., iv. 385.

<sup>6</sup> V. 162, 219.

any difference of signification; another poet, Pisander<sup>1</sup> of Laranda, employed Cadmus as a theogonic power, which Cadmilus unquestionably was in Samothrace; and Nonnus, a later writer, imagined that the same person was called Cadmilus as a god, and Cadmus as a hero.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the diminutive termination in *ίλος* corresponds to that of *ίλος* in *Ἐρωτίλος*, and is also to be found in other ancient Greek names. Now, it is certain that this Cadmus-Cadmilus was really adored in Samothrace *as a deity*. "To the three Cabiri of Samothrace," say the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes,<sup>3</sup> "a fourth is added in Cadmilus, who is identical with Hermes according to Dionysodorus." Hence we are also entitled to refer the following statement of Acusilaus,<sup>4</sup> the ancient Logographer, to the Samothracian worship: "From Cabira and Hephæstus sprang Camilus, from him the three Cabiri, and from them the Cabiric nymphs." Lastly, we shall as we proceed receive also from Herodotus, the testimony that this Cadmus-Hermes was adored in Samothrace as a cardinal divinity.

Now, therefore, if the worship of Harmonia, and the legend, or the service of Cadmus existed in Thebes and Samothrace, and probably in these places alone of all Greece, it is clear that there must have been some connexion between them: for an arbitrary adoption of gods, without the interposition of some agency by which they were introduced to the adopter, cannot, on any account, be supposed; and least of all in early antiquity. Now, such a mediation was sup-

<sup>1</sup> Olympiodorus, from MS. communicated by Wytténb. in Plato's *Phæd.*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Dionys., vol. iv. p. 116. Hanau.

<sup>3</sup> I. 917.

<sup>4</sup> Str., x. p. 472 d.

plied by the TYRRHENE PELASGIANS alone, who, as Herodotus<sup>1</sup> relates, after being expelled from Attica, went, about the time of the Dorian migration, to Lemnos and other places; one of which, according to the same author,<sup>2</sup> was the neighbouring island of Samothrace. But these Pelasgians had come to Attica from Bœotia; nay, more, from the territory of THEBES, as is stated by Ephorus,<sup>3</sup> a writer who has worked into the pragmatic connexion of his history an astonishing number of ancient traditions, and whose testimony must certainly be preferred to the vague accounts of Myrsilus<sup>4</sup> and Pausanias,<sup>5</sup> as to their western or Hesperian origin. For the evidence of these latter authorities is at once destroyed by this circumstance of itself, that Herodotus calls them *merely* Pelasgians, and acknowledges them to have been a branch from the same original stem with the Pelasgic Athenians, to whom they then appeared strange, only because the latter had already become Hellenized.<sup>6</sup> But Herodotus knew another community of these Pelasgians who had formerly dwelt in Attica; viz., that of Placia and Scylace. The Pelasgian state at Lemnos, too, was not annihilated by the Athenians until between the second and fourth years of the 70th Olympiad; and Herodotus, who was born in the first year of the 74th, must have possessed accurate information as to the tribe and nation of these people. It is clear, therefore, that these Tyrrhene Pelasgians form *the link of communication between Thebes and Samothrace*: the only one, too, so far as we know; at least, there is no trace of any other to

<sup>1</sup> VI. 137.<sup>2</sup> II. 51.<sup>3</sup> Ap. Str., ix. 401.<sup>4</sup> Ap. Dionys., ii. 1. 28.<sup>5</sup> I. 28. 3.<sup>6</sup> II. 51. Comp. i. 56 sq.

be found in subsequent history. Hence we might infer, with tolerable certainty, that they were the bearers and deliverers of the worship of Cadmus, even if we did not otherwise know that Cadmus-Hermes-Cadmilus was worshipped by the Tyrrhene Pelasgians. "CADMUS, the *Hermes of the Tyrsenians*," says a grammarian.<sup>1</sup> Callimachus, who spoke of the Tyrrhene Pelasgians in Attica,<sup>2</sup> stated that Hermes was called Cadmilus by the Tyrrhenians, which the Roman authors erroneously referred to the Tuscans and the ancient Italian Camillus<sup>3</sup> (boy.) Historical information, likewise, respecting this Tyrrhene worship, could be very easily obtained, as that people, long after the beginning of the Olympiads, (at the time of the Homeric hymn to Dionysus,) roamed the Grecian seas, and inhabited a number of independent towns in the north of the Archipelago, until and even after the Persian war. Nothing, therefore, is wanting to complete the proof that the Tyrrhene Pelasgians transferred the worship and mythus of Thebes to Samothrace; and we might almost leave untouched the following passage of Herodotus,<sup>4</sup> which of itself would decide the question. "The Athenians learned from the Pelasgians, who lived in their territory, to represent Hermes as ithyphallic. The same Pelasgians, at an earlier period, (before they were subdued, and partly expelled from Samos by the Ionians,) inhabited Samothrace; and from them have the Samothracians derived their *Καβαίρων ὄργια*. They also related concerning that phallic form a *ἱερὸς λόγος*, which is revealed in the

<sup>1</sup> Etymol. Gud., p. 290 <sup>b</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Schol. Aristoph. Pind., 832.<sup>3</sup> Macrob., Sat. iii. 8.<sup>4</sup> II. 51.

Samothracian mysteries." The Samothracian Hermes was called Cadmus, as we know to a certainty; Samothrace, therefore, according to Herodotus also, received the latter from the Pelasgians. The *ἱερὸς λόγος* of the god's passion was probably divulged by a philosopher, from whom Cicero borrows it;<sup>1</sup> but it appears, according to Propertius,<sup>2</sup> that the story had been localized at the lake Bœbeis by the Pelasgians of the Dotic plain.<sup>3</sup>

This evidence of itself might be deemed sufficient; but the subject is of so much importance towards obtaining a correct notion of the mythic ages of Greece, that it will not be superfluous to adduce further proof from a different quarter. I set out from this, that the above passage of Herodotus clearly proves *Hermes-Cadmilus to have been worshipped in the Samothracian mysteries*.<sup>4</sup> He was worshipped, if not as a Cabirus himself, at least as the father of the Cabiri, as a mundane principle; hence, a learned author has lately suggested this very beautiful explanation of his name, viz., "the creator, the disposer," from *κᾶζω*. He manifestly belonged to the group of Cabiric deities. Now, we find the service of the Cabiri mentioned distinctly, and *by name*, in the following places. First, in Samothrace,<sup>5</sup> Lemnos, and Imbros.<sup>6</sup> In these latter

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *de Nat. Deo.*, iii. 22, (Comp. Creuzer.)

<sup>2</sup> II. 2. 11. (63.)

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Lobeck, *De Myster. Argum.*, iii. p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot conceive how Demet. of Scepsis, (in Str., x. 470,) could think that there was no *μυστικὸς λόγος περὶ Καβίρων* in Samothrace. The context seems to me to require *περὶ Κουρήτων*.

<sup>5</sup> Str., x. 473; Attius ap. Varr., L.L., vi. p. 67; and, perhaps, the same in Cicero, *N. D.*, i. 42, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Str. *ib.* Iambl. *Vita Pyth.*, i. 28.

places, also, the worship of Hermes enjoyed high credit, and was similar in its nature to the Samothracian form already described. The coins of the two islands exhibit the ithyphallic deity very distinctly;<sup>1</sup> the highest mountain-peak in Lemnos was called Hermæon,<sup>2</sup> and further, the last Pelasgian prince of Lemnian Hephæstia was denominated Hermon,<sup>3</sup> after the god; the Island of Imbros, too, is said to have taken its name from him.<sup>4</sup> Besides, the worship of the Cabiri, and that under a sanguinary form, is found at Thessalonica;<sup>5</sup> again in an Attic inscription;<sup>6</sup> in several towns of Troas and in Pergamene;<sup>7</sup> and lastly, in Anthedon and Thebes.<sup>8</sup> Now, it is tolerably certain, of all these places, that they were inhabited by Tyrrhene Pelasgians. This is attested by Herodotus with regard to Lemnos and Imbros.<sup>9</sup> Thessalonica, as soon as it was built, must have attracted the inhabitants of the surrounding regions, and probably, among the rest, Pelasgic Tyrrhenians, (the *Τυρσηνοὺς* of Herodotus,) from Athos, and the country below Creston.<sup>10</sup> The Pelasgians had Antander, on the borders of Troas, for a short time in their possession,<sup>11</sup> as well as Pitane in Pergamene;<sup>12</sup> but it is probable that these were of

<sup>1</sup> Choiseul Gouff., *Voy. Pitt.*, i. 2, pl. 16. Mionnet, *Descr.*, i. p. 422, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Æschylus, *Agam.*, 290, Schol.

<sup>3</sup> See Valckenær on Herod., vi. 140, and Hesych. 'Εγμῶνος χάρις.

<sup>4</sup> Steph. B. "Ιμβρος.

<sup>5</sup> According to Firmicus, *De Err. Prof. Rel.* 12, and the coins with the inscriptions KABIPOΣ, KABEIPIA, DEO CABIRO.

<sup>6</sup> Gruter, p. 319. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Str., x. 473. Paus., i. 4. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Paus., ix. 22. 5; 25. 5.

<sup>9</sup> V. 26; vi. 137, &c.

<sup>10</sup> Herod., i. 57. Thuc., iv. 109.

<sup>11</sup> Herod., vii. 42, &c.

<sup>12</sup> Hellanicus ap. Zenob., v. 61.

the Tyrrhene branch, as the occupation of both these towns took place at a comparatively late period, and the same swarm had also passed through the Hellespont, entered the Propontis, and proceeded to Cyzicus, Placia, and Scylace. The Tyrrhene Pelasgians of Attica are well known; and as I have already shown, the entire migration began from Bœotia. I have, therefore, after this collocation of facts, merely to repeat the result:—Wherever the Cabiric religion is to be met with, under a definite form, and bearing that name, there also are the Tyrrhene Pelasgians to be found. No one will maintain that this is accidental: I think I am fairly entitled to deduce the worship of the Cabiri, with the name itself, from that Pelasgic tribe. There were, indeed, some other cities belonging to it, in which we cannot point out the presence of the Cabiri; but this may be because we know nothing of their religious observances; and yet there are some scattered traces which seem to indicate the existence of these deities. If the case stands thus, the worship of the Cabiri, in all the above-named places, must be referred to Thebes as its metropolis. At some distance from that city there was a grove sacred to Demeter and Cora Cabiria, and, close by, a sanctuary of the Cabiri; (thus also did the sanctuaries stand together at Anthedon,) of whose ancient fame and fortunes Pausanias gives a full account. That there was a priestess named Pelarge, connected with this worship, is also some addition to the proof of a Pelasgic origin. Now, it is indeed surprising that Pausanias should be the first to mention this temple; but it is far more difficult to imagine that such a double sanc-

tuary started into existence within the historical era, than that it should, particularly when we bear in mind its sequestered situation, have remained unnoticed by earlier poets and historians. When the same author states elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> that Methapus, an Athenian, the director of various mystical solemnities, regulated (κατεστήσατο) for the Thebans the religious ceremonies of the Cabiri, it cannot have been his intention to designate him thereby as the founder of a religion which he regarded as decidedly older than the Persian war.<sup>2</sup> Whereas Methapus, who placed his own statue in a temple, and changed in many particulars the worship of the great gods of Andania,<sup>3</sup> (afterwards established in Carnasion,) which had been introduced from the time of Aristomenes to that of Epaminondas, must have been later than the emancipation of Messenia. The closeness with which the worship of the Cabiric goddesses was interwoven with the Thebaic mythology, is evident from the statement of Euripides, that the *διώνυμοι θεαί*, *i. e.*, these Cabiric goddesses, founded Thebes, that Zeus bestowed the city on Cora at the ceremony of unveiling, and that Cadmus dwelt in the temple of Demeter Thesmophorus;<sup>4</sup> in which mythi all the divinities of the Samothracian worship are seen conjoined. There is still another objection to be met, viz., that Hephæstus, who was worshipped in Lemnos among the Cabiri, figures in Homer as an ancient deity of the Sintians, and that these were of Thracian

<sup>1</sup> IV. 1. 5.<sup>2</sup> IX. 26. 7.<sup>3</sup> The proof of *this* fact can be drawn from Pausan., iv. 20. 2; 26. 6; 27. 4; 33. 5.<sup>4</sup> Paus., ix. 16. 3.



stock, and older than the Tyrrhenians on the island. I now admit this myself, and confess that I too hastily embraced<sup>1</sup> the opposite opinion of Philochorus.<sup>2</sup> But nothing else can be inferred from this, than that the Sintian worship of Hephæstus was here, with the Pelasgian worship of Hermes and the Cabiri, united in Vulcan Mosychlus into a whole, a Pandæmonion, such as every Greek state possessed; as Samothrace might also, perhaps, at a very remote period, have adopted much from the Dardanians of Asia.<sup>3</sup> On the whole, I think the supposition, that the Cabiri were fire-gods,<sup>4</sup> which is built upon the genealogical connexion with Hephæstus, and an etymology from καίω, requires some better foundation. At all events, the significance of the Cabiri, as Cerealian powers of benign influence,<sup>5</sup> comes most prominently forward in Samothrace, more so even than the reference to the safety or danger of the mariner—an idea to which the voyages of the Tyrrhenians gave rise.

It is now time for a retrospective glance and general deduction. I think it is historically proved, that the swarm of Tyrrhene Pelasgians, who issued from Bœotia at the time of the Doric migration, *centuries before Homer*, carried with them, as the protectors of their race at home and abroad, the Cabiric deities and, with them, Cadmus Hermes—*gods of an essentially mysterious worship*, and re-established their rites wherever they took possession

<sup>1</sup> Orch., p. 301, where No. 4 is to be struck out.

<sup>2</sup> *Schol. Ven.* II., i. 594.

<sup>3</sup> Orch., p. 460. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Welcker, *Prometh.*, p. 155 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Lobeck, *De Myster. Argum.* i., p. 8.

of new settlements, particularly in the islands at the north of the Ægean Sea.

2. As a second example, I subjoin an occurrence intimately connected with the above. The city of Thebes, as we find from Euphorion's profound legendary researches, was presented by Zeus to Cora, on the day when she first, in favour of her bridegroom, raised from her countenance the bridal veil.<sup>1</sup> This act of the bride was called ἀνακαλυπτήρια, and even gave general occasion to present-making among the Grecian people. Here the consecration of Thebes was ingeniously inwoven, by means of the mythus, into the history of the divine nuptials. Now, the same goddess was adored in an especial manner at Acragas, in Sicily, which was therefore called, by Pindar, the seat of Persephone;<sup>2</sup> and this city, also, is said<sup>3</sup> to have been given by Zeus to Cora at the unveiling. The mythus was connected with the festival of the sacred marriage, (Θεογάμια),<sup>4</sup> which the Sicilians solemnized to Cora, and of which the ἀνακαλυπτήρια doubtless formed a part.<sup>5</sup> When all Sicily is called an unveiling-gift, this seems to me an expansion of the original mythus, which was more modest and strictly local.<sup>6</sup> Thirdly, Persephone was also worshipped in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus, in the Propontis, and is even said to have wrested that city from the giants in battle.<sup>7</sup> It is also related that Zeus gave Cyzicus to the goddess as a dowry; but probably this word is inaccurately employed for

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 688. Comp. Meineke Fragm. 48. p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, P. xii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ancient Schol. Pind. Ol. ii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Pollux, i. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Later Schol. Olymp. vi. 160.

<sup>6</sup> See Plutarch, Timoleon, 8. Schol. Pind., Nem. i. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Agathocles in Steph. Βίος. Βίος.

the gift of ἀνακαλυπτήρια.<sup>1</sup> Here we have the same local legend in three different places, all far distant from each other; and it would surely be extremely wonderful if it originated in them all independently, and without a common cause. History teaches us the contrary. A Cadmean family called the Ægidæ, removed from Thebes to Laconia, not long before the Doric migration; proceeded thence to Thera; and among other places went also to Gela and Acragas,<sup>2</sup> where, under the name of Eumenidæ, they attained the highest consideration and renown. They, doubtless, brought with them the hereditary worship of Thebes, and, through their influence, succeeded in diffusing it widely at Acragas, where the mythi connected with it became naturalized. But Cyzicus and the surrounding country were for a long time inhabited by Tyrrhene Pelasgians,<sup>3</sup> who had left the Thebais at the same time with the Ægidæ.<sup>4</sup> Thus, therefore, the Cyzican, as well as the Acragantine mythus, lead us back to the Thebaic; and it is at the same time manifest, as the three places had no intercourse subsequently, that, previous to the Doric migration, Thebes had been celebrated as a bridal gift, and that the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Cora and Hades was also well known to tradition. At least, I don't see how we can escape from this conclusion.

3. Another example carries us higher up, and leads us further into pure mythology. Apollo, after slaying Python, is said to have fled from Delphi to Tempe, and to have there made expiation. Plutarch<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appian, Mithridat. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Orch., p. 329 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Conon, 41. Comp. Steph. B. Κίζικος and Βίσσικος, &c.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 88. <sup>5</sup> *Quæst. Graec.* 12 *De Defectu Oracul.* 14, 21.

and Ælian<sup>1</sup> are indeed the earliest authors extant by whom this is mentioned; the former quoting the legend of the Delphians, the latter that of the Thessalians. The learned Callimachus, however, had given before a more complete exposition of the mythus, as is evident from the fragment in Stephanus.<sup>2</sup> But much stronger evidence of the legend's antiquity is afforded by the festal rites which were connected with it, namely, a solemn octennial embassy (*θεωρία*) of the Delphians, which brought home from the vale of Tempe a branch of the sacred laurel beside which Apollo had once made atonement. It is contrary to all analogy to suppose that such observances, forming an essential portion of an ancient worship, were only the offspring of later antiquity. The mimic representation of the battle, which was followed up by despatching the Theoria, was precisely the same at the time of Ephorus, as it was when witnessed by Plutarch four centuries afterwards. This will be quite obvious to any one who compares these writers.<sup>3</sup> Both state that in this scene, the tent (*καλιὰς* or *σκηνὴ*) in which Python lies, is set on fire while the fight rages within. But these festal processions in which laurel branches are broken and carried about, belong altogether, from the earliest times, to the service of Apollo. We find the laurel-bearing god and his sacred Daphnephoria in a great number of places throughout Greece, particularly in Thebes, where they are an evident imitation of those at Delphi, and are also celebrated in mythology.<sup>4</sup> These observa-

<sup>1</sup> Ælian, *Var. Hist.*, iii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. *Δειπνιάς*.

<sup>3</sup> The former in Strabo, ix. 422<sup>d</sup>, (521 Tzsch.); and the latter *De Def. Or.* 14.

<sup>4</sup> Dor., vol. i. pp. 263, 348, 440.

tions are merely designed to obviate some objections, and to open the way for the discovery of a very ancient, and, at the same time, a certain datum for the long existence of that mythus and festal usage. The legend of Apollo's purification is also found elsewhere, viz., in the Cretan city of Tarrha, which was situated among the mountains in the western part of the island, in a narrow valley full of cypresses and other trees.<sup>1</sup> Here there was a famous sanctuary of Apollo,<sup>2</sup> where expiations were instituted to the Pythian god.<sup>3</sup> The neighbouring<sup>4</sup> inhabitants of Elyrus also honoured the deity, for they sent to Delphi the image of a she-goat suckling two children, which, according to local tradition, were begotten by the god himself while he abode at Tarrha.<sup>5</sup> In consequence of these sacred observances, Elyrus produced a famous bard and priest of expiation, named Thaletas, who was greatly celebrated in the Peloponnesus, before the 40th Olympiad.<sup>6</sup> So much for the worship of Apollo, and the expiatory ceremonies of Tarrha and the neighbourhood. Now, the purification of Apollo, after the destruction of Python, is also laid at Tarrha, as well as at the altar in the vale of Tempe. A native of Tarrha, called Carmenor, (perhaps originally *Καθαράνωρ*,) was the purifier according to the Cretan tradition.<sup>7</sup> All the circumstances show that this legend belonged to that

<sup>1</sup> See Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, ii. 2. Comp. Sieber's Travels in Crete, i. 207, 467.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. *Τάρρα*.

<sup>3</sup> CENOMANUS in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.*, p. 133, Steph.

<sup>4</sup> See Hæck's Creta, i. p. 389.

<sup>5</sup> Paus., x. 16, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Dor., vol. ii. pp. 14, 334.

<sup>7</sup> Paus., ii. 7, 7. 30, 3.; x. 7, 2. 16, 3.

locality; and, in like manner, it can be easily perceived that it is not an arbitrary or idle invention, but an ancient and native tradition. Pausanias even heard at Delphi a legend and oracle, according to which the blood-stained hands of the god were cleansed by Cretans.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, we find that the two traditions, the Delpho-Thessalian and the Cretan, were, even in ancient times, brought together and blended into one. Apollo is now purified from the slaughter of the dragon by Chrysothemis in Crete, and then goes to Tempe to obtain the laurel.<sup>2</sup> This amalgamation, however, is evidently the result of a scientific striving. The genuine Delphic legend gives no countenance to this, for it makes the god flee to Tempe immediately after the deed. Now, it is plain, as there is not a third of the kind, that of the two traditions, one has given birth to the other—one is derived from the other. But what had Crete to do with Tempe during the historical period; and how could the idea have occurred to the Cretans of naturalizing among themselves the sacred legend of that valley? If we know, on the contrary, that Crete itself was partly peopled with Dorians, who, as we are aware, were devoted to the worship of Apollo, nay more, that they had come from the neighbourhood of Tempe; who will then hesitate to ascribe the transplantation of the worship and the legend to this migration? Andron, who is quoted by Strabo,<sup>3</sup> had surely some foundation for this statement; and there is no ground whatever for pronouncing the passage

<sup>1</sup> Paus., x. 6, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Pind. Pyth. Hypothesis 3, in Böckh.

<sup>3</sup> X. 475<sup>a</sup>, and Steph. *Δώριον*. Comp. Diod., iv. 60., v. 80.

in the Odyssey regarding the Dorians in Crete to be spurious. The ancients never thought of that; and if I once fancied myself that I discovered in it a "*solemnis anachronismus*,"<sup>1</sup> this was, because I had not yet surveyed the mutual relations of the Cretan forms of worship, legends, and institutions, which can only be explained by means of this migration. Any one who considers this expedition impossible, because the Doric navy was of later date, and at all times inconsiderable, must also deny the conquest of Britain by the Saxons and Angles, because Hamburg flourished long afterwards, and the Saxons never fitted out large fleets.

But, altogether, the more deeply we enter into the relations in which the local mythi and religion of one place stand with regard to those of another, the more are we enabled to arrive at determinations of this nature; and the more clearly do we perceive, that, although the pride and vanity of the priests may have occasionally influenced the localization of legends, yet, in the main, the propagation of mythi, especially in earlier times, was not subjected to caprice or accident, and that, unless with families and tribes themselves, their principal, nay, almost their only spiritual possession scarcely ever migrated.

4. The six Dorian cities at the south-western point of Asia Minor deduced their origin from Argos, Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Sparta in the Peloponnesus. They celebrated the *TRIOPIA*, a federal festival, on the promontory of Triopium, in the territory of Cnidus. The Triopian gods were Apollo,<sup>2</sup> the tutelary deity of the Doric race; Poseidon, (who was probably added

<sup>1</sup> *Æginet.*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Herod., i. 144.

by the Halicarnassians,) together with the nymphs;<sup>1</sup> and, lastly, DEMETER. We owe our knowledge of the fact that she was of the number, to the following train of reasoning: An inhabitant of the small island of Telos, which lay close to the Triopian cape, took part in the establishment of Gela, which was founded by the Rhodians in the 16th Olympiad: he became the ancestor of a line which flourished in that city, and afterwards in Syracuse, and to which Gelon and Hieron belonged.<sup>2</sup> Now, we know that this Telian (who was, perhaps like Hieron's father, called Deinomenes) brought with him the Triopian rites to Sicily;<sup>3</sup> and we know further that a descendant of his, named Telines, in consequence of recalling exiles to Gela, and placing them under the safeguard of his sanctuaries, obtained for himself the dignity of a Hierophant to the *subterranean gods*, viz., Demeter, Hades, and Cora.<sup>4</sup> This office was still preserved by Hieron, who is celebrated by Pindar as a servant and worshipper of Demeter and Cora,<sup>5</sup> to whom also he erected a magnificent temple.<sup>6</sup> It is evident from this that the *sacra* of Telines were nothing else than the ancient religion of his family; and that, therefore, the worship of the earth-gods constituted a portion of the Triopian observances at the Dorian festival.

Now we also find the Triopian rites elsewhere: for the name Triopas<sup>7</sup> is, in several mythi, placed in connexion with the worship of Demeter. Callimachus, in his hymn to Demeter, introduces a tradition that

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Theocr., 17. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Herod., vii. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Pind., P. ii. 27, with Böckh's learned note

<sup>4</sup> Herod., *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Olymp., vi. 94. Comp. *Schol. Vratist.*

<sup>6</sup> Diodor., xi. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Or Triops, Hellan. ap. Stephan. B. Τριόπιον.



the Pelasgians had dedicated to her a sacred grove in the Thessalian plain of Dotion, and that there dwelt Triopas, whose son Erysichthon was tormented with insatiable hunger, as a punishment for the desecration of her sanctuary. This legend is very easy to interpret, when we know that Erysichthon was also called *Αἴθων*, "burn,"<sup>1</sup> and that *ἐρυσίβη* is "mildew," (produced by sun-burn upon dew,) a bitter foe to Demeter, who elsewhere, under the name of *Ἐρυσίβια*, warded it off. We have further to compare the Argive tradition in Pausanias,<sup>2</sup> that Demeter was called Pelasgis at Argos, because Pelasgus, the son of Triopas,<sup>3</sup> consecrated her temple. Thus, therefore, the name of Triopas presents itself in three different places,—for Triopium in Asia Minor is also said to have been founded by a Triopas,—and always, too, in connexion with the worship of Demeter: hence, Herodes Atticus called a temple to Demeter and Cora and the subterranean gods Triopium, and Triopas himself *Δηῶος*.<sup>4</sup> Of course some historical connexion must have existed between the three places just named. It is very easily supplied between Argos and Dotion by the Pelasgic inhabitants of both regions; and if we derive the Triopia of Cnidus from the former place, we have the plausible ground to go upon, that the Doric population of the six cities, who raised them to the dignity of a national solemnity, had for the most part emigrated from Argolis. But this ground is completely swept away by the fact, that these Dorians, when they came to the Peloponnesus, mani-

<sup>1</sup> Hellan. ap. Athen., x. 416, &c.

<sup>2</sup> II. 22, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Hellan. Schol. II., iii. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Visconti *Iscrizioni Triopec.*

fested on different occasions a spirit of hostility to the mystic worship of Demeter,<sup>1</sup> to which the Triopian ceremonies evidently belonged, and that the Rhodian colony followed very close on this immigration. On the other hand, a tradition, well known in antiquity, points at a connexion between Dotion and Triopium in Caria. It says that Triopas emigrated from the Thessalian territory to the district of Caria, and that the adjoining island of Syme was peopled at the same time.<sup>2</sup> The emigration of the Pelasgi from Dotion was occasioned, according to the tradition, by the invasion of an heroic race—the Lapitho-Phlegyans; hence, Triopas himself is even called by some the son of Lapithas, (as others made Erysichthon a son of the neighbouring race of Myrmidons.)<sup>3</sup> It could not, in any event, have taken place within the historical era. It is clear, from all this, that the Carian Triopia were connected with those of Thessaly, and that the connexion had its foundation at a very remote period, when the aboriginal Pelasgi, and other warlike tribes, came into collision in the latter country; consequently, also, that the germs of the Triopian mythi regarding Demeter must have been already in existence.

<sup>1</sup> Herod., ii. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Callim. Dem., 25. Mnaseas ap. Athen., vii. 296<sup>c</sup>. Paus., x. 11. 1. Diodor., v. 61. In this author everything is brought into pragmatistical connexion.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Orch., p. 195.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*On the Age of the Great Body of Mythi.*

IN this way, it seems to me, can the existence of mythi be traced back into the mythic ages, and *their origin shown to be antecedent to the period of artificially elaborated poetry*. It would be needless to multiply examples; and, at any rate, they would not prove the general proposition which we shall now attempt to establish, viz., *That the great mass of mythi must have had their origin in the mythic period itself*; or, in other words, that the majority of mythi sprang up at the time of which in general they treat, and continued thereafter in a state of progressive development. It appears to me, however, that the truth of this proposition is deducible from this circumstance of itself, that those mythi which have arisen out of historical events are in fact mythi solely because they carry back real occurrences into early heroic history, and blend them with it,—a process which would have been impossible, if such a history had not had a previous existence in general belief. In order to advance further, we set out from the fact, *that the Greeks made a strongly marked distinction between the strictly mythic and the historical period*. The ages down to the migration of the Heraclidæ—which stood neutral between—were alone the theme of mythic narrations; these alone were chosen as the materials and subject of their works by the epic, lyric, and dramatic poets, as well as by the plastic

art ; and with these did tradition occupy itself in an especial manner. They were succeeded by a period of more than five hundred years, which, previous to the Alexandrians, (Rhianus and others,) was scarcely ever mentioned in song. This period was at the same time destitute of contemporaneous history, faintly illustrated by merely a few literary memorials,—even that during only the latter half,—and evidently neglected by tradition, which did not preserve more than brief and meagre records of some isolated transactions, and legendary, but yet not purely mythic, accounts of others ; for the mythic and poetic transformation of materials was immediately connected with removal of the subject up to the heroic times. Now, how can this difference, this complete contrast, be explained ? Perhaps because remote ages alone afforded sufficient scope and freedom for mythic representation, and that intermediate space took an interest in the mythus alone ? But antiquity of itself is not enough ; for, to the 30th Olympiad, all the time prior to the Olympiads was sufficiently distant to people it with inventions, if that were all that was required : at a period which knew no other mode of transmission, in a connected form, than legend and poetry. Perhaps, however, it may be thought that the mythus could only represent a state of things which no longer subsisted, and that precisely for that reason were the relations of Achaian Greece adapted to it, inasmuch as these were completely subverted by the migration of the Heraclidæ, and made way for a condition which continued during those five hundred years without any essential change. But the mythus does not, by any means, exhibit otherwise such a predilection for

the times which stand out of connexion with the present; on the contrary, it took usually the greatest interest in those during which it was disseminated alive, as is particularly demonstrated by the legends of colonies and families. Consequently, that distinct separation of the mythic and non-mythic periods can scarcely be satisfactorily accounted for in any other way than by the supposition that the mythic mode of conception and representation was quite peculiar to that early age, and that all the mythic cycles were then traced, and were afterwards filled up by the bards. This brings us to the proposition, That the time (which we claimed above as a necessary epoch in the civilisation of the Grecian people) in which the invention of mythi constituted the main intellectual activity of the Greeks, was one and the same with the time to which these mythic narrations refer,—a time which was followed by another, that still, indeed, occupied itself chiefly with mythi, represented them poetically, completed them, and even added new ones to their number, but was incapable of converting the present into mythus. Another consideration also leads to the same result. The mythi give accounts of the expeditions and wanderings of ancient heroes, in which real occurrences of the mythic period are recorded.<sup>1</sup> Now these for the most part cannot have come down to posterity otherwise than by tradition, beginning at the event and propagated by communication constantly kept up. For if we assume a point in later times at which the legend was first formed, it must either have been an empty fiction,—an idea which has been already repudiated, and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 9.

which is discountenanced by the connexion which we know to subsist between such legends,—or it must have been a conclusion of apparently universal admissibility from really existing circumstances of every kind. But the relations of that early period were greatly altered by the revolution which brought it to a close; and those which succeeded gave but little scope for mythi. Records, therefore, of early relations which no longer existed could alone give birth to the mythus: but it must not be imagined that these were of an historical nature; for the Ideal in the mythus was nothing superadded, but was, as we have already shown, an essential element from the very outset. The mythus, itself, therefore, was handed down from that period by tradition.

Perhaps this also will be rendered clearer by an example. The Æginetan mythology mentions that Æacus son of Zeus, reigned in Ægina as prince of the Myrmidons; but that his sons Peleus and Telamon, having imbrued their hands in the blood of their brother Phocus, were obliged to quit the island, and that Peleus took refuge with Actor at Phthia.<sup>1</sup> The Myrmidons are the same race to which alone the name of "Ἕλληνες was yet applied in the Iliad. They must, then, have dwelt in Ægina; they must have migrated to Thessaly, if the mythus contains fact. And here it assuredly does: for, as it is beyond doubt that a district near Phthia, or in Phthiotis, was formerly called Hellas, so we also know to a certainty that the anti-Doric inhabitants of Ægina bore the peculiar and distinctive appellation of "Ἕλληνες. Complete evidence of this is fur-

<sup>1</sup> *Æginet.*, p. 12-23.

nished by the worship of Ζεὺς Ἑλλάγιος. I have shown, especially from Pindar,<sup>1</sup> that he was the ancient Ζεὺς γενέθλιος of the Æacidæ, and that it was not until the primitive and extremely-restricted signification of the Hellenic name was forgotten, and its comprehensive meaning on the contrary universally diffused, that he was regarded as a Zeus Panhellenius, who once, through the instrumentality of Æacus, delivered all Hellas from a general pestilence.<sup>2</sup> Thus, therefore, it is established, that the inhabitants of both districts were of the same race, and that the legend (which, in its original form, derived Æacus himself from Phthia) speaks the truth. But this relationship was completely destroyed by the Dorian and Thessalian migration, which caused the Thessalian Hellas and the Island of Ægina to be peopled by entirely different inhabitants, and broke up all connexion between them. Now, legends representing that affinity could not spring up anew; at least, they would always presuppose others of older date, contemporaneous, in short, with the sway of the Myrmidons. And it is evident, that the story of Peleus' migration to Thessaly, whatever changes it may have afterwards undergone, was, in its most essential element, connected directly with the event.

<sup>1</sup> N. v. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Æginet.*, p. 18. Comp. Dissen. *Explic. ad Pind.*, l. 1.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Approximate Determination of the Time when the Creation of Mythi ceased to prevail.*

FROM these examples furnished by the mythic ages, I return to historical instances. It might be gathered from those which have been already adduced, that even after the commencement of the Olympiads, the faculty of producing mythi was by no means extinct in the provinces and cities of Greece ; but, on the contrary, was alive and active. At the same time, it must also be borne in mind, that colonies to distant and unknown coasts stimulated the mind, in an especial manner, to the invention of mythi. They conjured back, in some measure, that olden time, when nations still often changed their abodes, and built new sanctuaries to their gods. To risk themselves on the great deep, on an inhospitable shore, and in battle with the barbarous natives, in order to obtain a new home, could not be done at that time without great daring, and reliance on higher powers. Ancient promises and Pythian oracles must animate their courage, families who traced back their descent to hoar antiquity must direct the expedition, soothsayers of high repute must sanction every measure. At the choice of the site, at the foundation of the first habitations, everything was full of significance, and all listened for boding sounds. Every success was owing to the favour of a god or a hero ; every misfortune a consequence of neglecting the



will of Destiny ; an invisible world stood constantly behind the visible. Such relations and circumstances must, even at a time which was otherwise more favourable to transmission than creation, have nevertheless still produced mythi—mythi in the proper sense, *in which the Real and the Ideal were most intimately combined, and in which their authors themselves placed entire faith.*

But how long, it will here be asked, can we, upon the whole, suppose the production of mythi to have continued in a state of activity ? This question is already in some measure solved by the idea which we have thus far acquired of the mythus, and single examples will perhaps lead us further. *The blending together of the Real and the Imaginary* could, from the very nature of the conception, last only so long as men were not accustomed to represent each by itself. So soon as the practice obtained, of expressing notions on the world and deity as such, at first in single propositions, and then in connected and dialectic discourse, so soon as it became customary to represent separately the result of inquiry into real transactions, the invention of mythi must have died out. Philosophy and history, when they began to flourish about the 60th Olympiad—their literary appearance, however, presupposes a long preparation of internal activities—relieved the expiring mythus. Secondly, we have here to consider that the mythus has its roots in *oral tradition*, and therein lives and thrives ; but whenever written records come into use, it is straitened and oppressed by their certainty and precision. Still more must *changes in the religious mode of thinking* have de-

stroyed the mythus in its essence ; and indeed the following epochs may here be distinguished, although not separated from each other by clearly marked and continuous lines. First in order stands the period which created mythi from manifold religious ideas and feelings, and their application to nature and humanity ; then follows another which handed them down with full belief, as real accounts of a primitive marvellous age ; then a third, (the Pindaric,) whose religious faith was modified by philosophic speculation, and entered, therefore, into conflict with many an ancient mythus ; and lastly, the period of philosophic illumination, (that of Euripides,) which considered mythi as forms,—not forms, however, of primitive thought, but of its own ideas which were introduced instead. The first alone is, properly speaking, the creative period ; but the second carried on the same activity by means of analogies and deductions ; the third modified in obedience to an internal necessity ; the fourth sported capriciously with mythology, and at length merely employed it as an indispensable substratum and embellishment to poetry. Now it is indeed true that those spiritual tendencies only affected, to any great extent, the cultivated portion of the Grecian people ; and that in districts where there was little intercourse, the mountains of Arcadia for instance, and among the common people, the ancient mode of thinking must have longer continued to exist. But the mythus must, for that very reason, have essentially degenerated. It ceased to be the current expression of civilization ; it became an obscure popular legend, a fireside tale. This seems to me to be mainly characteristic

of the latter, that it lives among the lower classes, and stands at antagonism with the prevailing enlightenment. It holds nearly the same relation to the mythus which the belief in ghosts bears to religion. It separates dark imaginings from their connexion in remote ages, and transfers them to a state of civilisation to which they are utterly alien. Thus, those who are versed in our German popular tales can discover in them traces of a period anterior to the Christian era.

This reasoning is fully confirmed by the investigation of particular cases. Mythi which relate to colonies, and to intercourse with foreign nations, furnish the most distinct information on the subject. Heraclea on the Pontus, according to the only precise account, that of Scymnus,<sup>1</sup> who probably drew on Ephorus, was founded at the time when Cyrus subjugated Media: therefore, about the 55th Olympiad. Bœotians and Megarians, under Gnesiochus, were the founders; and Hercules was the hero to whom the colony was dedicated. Now, this Heraclea was truly a mother of legends; and a host of mythi about Hercules and the Argonauts were here partly naturalized, partly new-modelled, and constructed from the most diversified indications.<sup>2</sup> To the former class belongs, for example, the dragging up of Cerberus, which was transferred to this region.<sup>3</sup> This mythus had previously its locality in Bœotia, where Hercules Charops, ascending from the nether world, was worshipped at Coronea.<sup>4</sup> To the latter belongs the legend, that Hercules had before, in con-

<sup>1</sup> Hudson, T. ii. p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Dorians, vol. i. pp. 443, 525.

<sup>2</sup> Orch., p. 292.

<sup>4</sup> Paus., ix. 34, 4.

junction with the Mariandynians, defeated the Berycians and Mygdonians ; in the same way that the Heracleans had afterwards to fight against these nations, with the assistance of their Mariandynian bond-slaves. These were evidently Heracleian popular traditions, and were introduced by Herodorus and other authors belonging to that city into mythology, where they took equal rank with older traditions.<sup>1</sup> *But Heraclea is probably also the latest colony which gave rise to such a mass of mythi ;* nay, particular circumstances must have here lent their coöperation, unless Heraclea is in reality more ancient. In this respect it stands at that period almost alone ; as the few mythi which the founding of Massalia, in the country of the Celts, occasioned, for instance, the adventure of Hercules among the Ligyans, (with which was connected the founding of Heraclea, a city of the Massalians, at the mouth of the Rhone,) cannot afford a parallel. But the other colonies to which a numerous train of legends was attached, as Taras, Croton, Phaselis, Tarsus, Cyrene, &c., are all considerably older. On the contrary, the later settlements of the Athenians, and other Grecian races, have been all handed down as plain historical facts ; and there is nothing further connected with them than an occasional genealogy, or simple continuation of a mythus.

Besides the colonial legends, there is still another class, the age of which may be determined with tolerable certainty by historical data, those, namely, in which *the acquaintance of the Greeks with other nations*, whether of a friendly or hostile nature, was veiled. This also was practised, as we learn from

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Apollod., ii. 5, 9.

inquiry into single cases, down to about the 40th or 50th Olympiad. I will adduce a few examples, especially in reference to Egypt, beginning with one of the oldest,—the mythus of Busiris. Herodotus refutes, with great indignation, a legend which was current among the Greeks of his day, that Hercules went to Egypt, and was there destined as a sacrifice to Zeus; but that, when at the altar, and already besprinkled, he burst his bonds asunder, and slew all the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> This is the oft-told legend of Busiris, the savage son of Poseidon, who caused all strangers to be put to death. It was alluded to, a generation before Herodotus, by the poet Panyasis,<sup>2</sup> whose contemporary, Pherecydes,<sup>3</sup> even gave the name of the king. But the legend manifestly came into existence at a time when the Greeks, although they had indeed often landed in Egypt, still felt a secret dread of that strange and mysterious country. They must, however, have heard the name of the god Osiris, with the article, Pe-Osiris, from which the word *Βούσιρις* is doubtless formed: and hence, a Busiris even figures in Apollodorus, as son of Ægyptus. But all acquaintance with the internal condition of that highly cultivated and pacific country and people, such as was opened up by means of Psammetichus in the 27th Olympiad, was still denied them. Accordingly, we must place the origin of the mythus in its proper root, farther back than that period. It agrees very well with this, that Busiris was already introduced into one of the Hesiodic poems, which partly come farther down than the 30th Olympiad. It

<sup>1</sup> II. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 533.

<sup>3</sup> Sturz, *Frqm.* 30, p. 132.

appears, indeed, that he did not yet stand in any relation to Hercules, inasmuch as he was placed eleven generations before the time of the hero;<sup>1</sup> but it is evident that this was only a subsequent conclusion, formed from the mention of his parents in Hesiod, and from the established genealogies, by which, however, in all probability, that poet was not influenced. Thus, also, it was calculated by Isocrates,<sup>2</sup> that Busiris, son of Poseidon and Libya, lived two hundred years and four generations before Hercules, which comes nearly to the same thing.

A period of friendly intercourse succeeded, when the Ionic mercenaries, who were introduced into the country by Psammeticus, surrounded the throne of the king at Sais, as was particularly the case under Apries, in the 50th Olympiad;<sup>3</sup> and this gave rise, among others, to the legend of a *relationship between the Saitans and Athenians*, which, afterwards developed by historians, came in its last and worst form into our historical books. I shall here, in order to facilitate our survey, specify once more, with all possible precision, the epochs of this development. 1. The priests of Sais became, through intercourse with the Ionians, friends of the Athenians, (*φιλαθήναιοι*), and the notion arose, that their common goddess, Neith-Athena,<sup>4</sup> formed the bond of an ancient affinity. 2. Greek authors made out from this that Sais was originally colonized from Athens.<sup>5</sup> 3. A work called *Τρικάρανος ἢ Τριπολιτικός*, which assailed with stinging and calumnious abuse three Greek cities, with

<sup>1</sup> Theon. Progymn., c. 6. p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Herod., ii. 163.

<sup>5</sup> Callisthenes and Phanodemus.

<sup>2</sup> Busiris, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Plato.

their legends and histories, gave this quite an opposite turn, and taxed the Athenians with being Egyptians. This work was ascribed to Theopompus by later writers, as Africanus and Proclus,<sup>1</sup> who quoted the passage as if it were the testimony of the sober historian, (for it is quite clear from the context, that in Proclus also we must read ἀποίκους, not ἐποίκους,) and therefore charged him with calumny, as did also Atticus, the Platonist, in Proclus, and Lucian. Better critics considered the work a forgery;<sup>2</sup> and Pausanias<sup>3</sup> informs us (for it is plain that he speaks of the Tricaranos) that this libel on Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, was written by Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who circulated it under the name of Theopompus, in order to make him universally hated. I am of opinion that it was a rhetorical performance, and that it was fathered on Theopompus, because he had been once for all stigmatized as a slanderer. In these circumstances, I am not afraid of incurring the charge of presumption when I repeat the assertion,<sup>4</sup> that *Cecrops' derivation from Sais is not a mythus, but an historical sophism.*

There is no doubt, however, that purely mythic narrations arose from intercourse with Egypt, as well as Phœnicia. Of this we shall give below some examples. The case is different with the connexions formed in aftertimes with foreign countries, —with Medes, Persians, Arabians, and Indians. Media and Persia did not become of importance to the Greeks until the downfall of Lydia, after the 58th Olympiad. The son of Medea, whom Hesiod

<sup>1</sup> Ad Tim., p. 30. Basil.

<sup>3</sup> V. l. 18. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 38 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Orch., p. 107 sqq.

calls Medeus or Medus,<sup>1</sup> was then explained to have been a Mede, and a brother was assigned him in the Persian,<sup>2</sup> who was still more appropriately derived from Perseus. In short, the legends which these connexions occasioned were limited to a few genealogies, in general very simple and insignificant, and to the geographical expansion of legends already known, remote being substituted for neighbouring regions,—an Indian or Arabian for the Bæotian Nysa. But both are in some degree philosophical activities,—if the name can with propriety be applied to such rude attempts,—partly of Hellenic compilers of mythi, partly of foreign collectors, who worked into their hands, as the *λόγιοι τῶν Φοινίκων, τῶν Περσέων* of Herodotus, and also the later priests of Egypt and Syria. In this way, also, did the learned men who accompanied the expedition of Alexander, interpret from Grecian mythology the names of the nations with whom they became acquainted, and soon found a place and connexion for them in that rich and copious whole :<sup>3</sup> and thus have Grecian writers exercised an ingenuity frequently ridiculous, in mixing up Greek and foreign history confusedly together. It is often very amusing to light on the traces of their conclusions, as in the following example : The mythic Abantes in Eubœa had a peculiar fashion of wearing the hair,—the same that was generally called the Thesean, and which was also found in Arabia. Some fancied that the Abantes had adopted it from the Arabians;<sup>4</sup> and others did not scruple to make the Arabians, merely on this

<sup>1</sup> Orch., p. 281, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. B. Περσ.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. among others, Orch., p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> See Plut., These. 5.



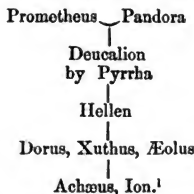
account, travel all the way, and come with Cadmus to Eubœa.<sup>1</sup> Thus, then, the adoption and transference of Asiatic legends into the sphere of the Grecian, and their mutual incorporation, are very often nothing more than a learned activity,—always, I imagine, unless the races themselves bordered on each other, or came otherwise into close contact, or unless the Greeks borrowed a worship from foreigners, as in the case of Adonis. For every legend requires a soil where it can live and propagate; it must be connected with families, nations, or sanctuaries, in order to preserve a traditionary existence. But where could any one tell of the expeditions of Dionysus to India, and the Argonautic navigation round the north of Europe, when these lands knew nothing of the god or the heroes, and even the inhabitants of Greece were indebted to men of learning for their information on these subjects.

A striving which pervades the whole of Grecian history, and never became entirely extinct, is that of *genealogizing*. It continued to exist during the period of pragmatic history, through the belief that every spot, every valley, received its name from some ancient sheik or cacique. Thus even Pausanias had still to deal with those who explained everything by means of genealogies, (*γενεαλογεῖν τὰ πάντα ἐθέλουσι*,) who, for example, out of the Pythian temple, at Delphi, manufactured Pythis, son of Delphus, and a prince of the olden time. But this striving has evidently its foundation in the genuine ancient manner of expression peculiar to the mythus. People, cities, mountains, rivers, gods, to the myth-inventing ages,

<sup>1</sup> Stra., x. p. 447.

all became persons who were placed in human relations towards each other, descended from one another, wedded to one another.

However easy it may be now to see through the invention in many cases, and to decypher the meaning of the connexion, these genealogies were nevertheless, because there was no arbitrary or conscious contrivance in them, received as actual truth, and were employed by logographers and historians, with full confidence in their general accuracy, in establishing a sort of chronology. If we give due regard to this faith even the genealogies which were formed at the time of the later epic poets, and perhaps of the logographers themselves, will not be viewed as, strictly speaking, pure inventions. Even these must have arisen by gradual extension, and conclusions which, at that period, carried general conviction. We shall first try to show this in the famous *genealogy of the chief tribes of the Hellenians*, which is derived from the Hesiodic *Ῥοῖαι*.



Now, the passage in Hesiod, indeed, names only the three brothers, without mentioning the sons of Xuthus; but it is quite clear that in this series,

<sup>1</sup> I take it from Tzet. on Lyc., 284; and the Paris. Schol. to Appollon., iii. 1085. (The Schol. Hom., Od. x. 2, made use of other Hesiodic poems.)

Xuthus also represents tribes ; and we must therefore assume, as there have never been Xuthi, that in Hesiod, as well as in Apollodorus and others, he stood for the Ionians and Achæans. Instead of Deucalion, the progenitor of mankind, another legend, perhaps equally old, places Zeus the father of gods and men.<sup>1</sup> Now, every one must perceive that the above genealogy aimed at bringing the chief tribes of the Hellenians into a national unity, and could not, therefore, have originated before that name was employed to designate the entire people—a name which, in the *Iliad*, did not yet apply to more than one small tribe in Thessaly. But its more extended use is coeval with the Hesiodic poems.<sup>2</sup> Its first distinctly ascertainable appearance is in the “*Works and Days*” of Hesiod. This genealogy must, therefore, have been formed at that time. That the author did not proceed arbitrarily, is evident from the fact of his making Xuthus the father of Achæus and Ion, whereby he considerably disturbed the agreement of the whole. It is clear that he must have had regard to the tradition which had already called these two the sons of Xuthus ; and, therefore, did not allow another father to be assigned to them. There must, then, have been no fathers of the others recognised in the tradition ; and several dark legends, as the Ætolian one of Dorus, Apollo’s son, could not have obtained general credit. Even the most ancient legend certainly spoke of a Hellen. Now, as the mythus follows the analogy of deriving genealogically the part from the whole, the

<sup>1</sup> Schol., *Od. ibid.* Comp. Pind., P. iv. 167, who alludes to this ; and Eurip. *Melan.*, Fr. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Æginet.*, p. 155.

subordinate from the general, (thus in the Theogony, the Mountains were brought forth by the Earth, and the Sun and Moon by the Light,) and as this mode of derivation had become to the mind a species of necessity, the poet (or whoever might be his source) boldly sang how the tribe-leaders, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, were sprung from the loins of Hellen, the heaven-born, or offspring of the Titans. Perhaps the author of the complete genealogy was preceded by others, who, *e.g.*, called Dorus a son of Hellen; for the Spartans, at the time of Lycurgus, in obedience to the behest of the Pythian oracle, already worshipped Zeus Hellanius and Athena Hellania;<sup>1</sup> and the judges in the Spartan army,<sup>2</sup> as well as the Agonothetæ at the Olympic games, were called Hellanodicæ. And when I reflect on that oracle, on the intimate connexion of Sparta and Olympia with Delphi, on the Delphic families of the *Ὀσίοι*, who traced their descent from Deucalion;<sup>3</sup> and remember, on the other hand, that a Bæotian poem, produced not far from the Pythian sanctuary, speaks first of the Hellenians in this enlarged sense, the conjecture forces itself upon me, that this national sanctuary of the Hellenic name took no little part in the formation of that truly beautiful legend; by means of which all the Grecian tribes, severed for so many centuries by bitter feuds and destructive wars, were at length united into one family by the bond of brotherhood.

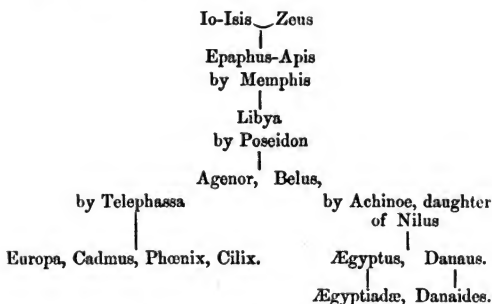
After this preparation, we may now examine another well-known genealogy, which does not unite

<sup>1</sup> According to the unquestionably correct emendation in Plut., Lyc. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Dor., ii. p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Dor., i. p. 241.

the Hellenic tribes with each other, but *the Hellenians with the Asians and Libyans*; and which more nearly belongs to the times of which it is properly our business to treat in this chapter. I set it down as it is given by Apollodorus,<sup>1</sup> who partly follows Pherecydes.<sup>2</sup> It was known in its essential portions to Æschylus, Pindar, and Herodotus; and must, therefore, have been many Olympiads older than them all.



Now, here we have the fable of Io, which is manifestly old Grecian in its fundamental elements, and which had its local habitation at Argos. A Hesiodic poem speaks of her transformation into a cow; and in that form she even made her appearance at Byzantium at the building of the city.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, there are no old Grecian traditions of her son Epaphus; whence it is clear that he is no other than the Egyptian Apis or Pe-Apis, whose name has been

<sup>1</sup> II. 1; iii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Apollon., iii. 1185; in Sturz, 15. p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> See page 72 sq.

somewhat altered by the Greek pronunciation.<sup>1</sup> Now, he could not be called the son of Io before the latter was identified with Isis,—an event which might have even taken place soon after the naturalisation of the Greek mercenaries in Egypt in the 27th Olympiad. For nothing more was wanting to lead to it, than the sight of one of the usual representations of Isis with the horns of a cow on her head. The Greek *must* have recognised in it his Io, of whom we have seen above, that she was, in the 30th Olympiad, represented as having horns, (κερόεσσα,) perhaps even already as the “Cow-horned Virgin,” (Παρθένα Βούκερως,) as Æschylus calls her, and as the Greeks painted her in the time of Herodotus.<sup>2</sup> “This,” the Greek would at once exclaim, “is surely our Io that is here so much adored as Isis, the great mother of the country;” and he would also readily imagine how she had come thither: for the Argive legends had certainly from the first described her as a *persecuted wanderer*.<sup>3</sup> Now, the Ionian, when transplanted by Amasis to the great city of Memphis, (after the second year of the 52d Olympiad,) would also perhaps see there, at public festivals, the much-revered calf Apis; and how could he resist the conviction, which then flashed upon him, that the calf-god was son of the cow-goddess; although, in the Egyptian creed, this was anything but true? So far all was spontaneous creation, occasioned merely by intuition and the application of commonly received ideas,

<sup>1</sup> Here it is to be considered how usual are such alterations of names and words at the beginning of the acquaintance of two nations; thus the early Romans turned *Γανυμήδης* into Catamitus, and *Κύκλωψ* into Cœcles, &c.

<sup>2</sup> II. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Welcker, *Prometh.*, p. 134.

entirely without the consciousness of invention; and as to the relation of Apollodorus, I have only to remark, that he introduced some additional matter into the history of Io, from his knowledge of the genuine legend of Osiris,<sup>1</sup> in the same way that he even incorporates with the Argolic legend the god Serapis, who had but lately attained high honours by being confounded with a Cappadocian divinity.<sup>2</sup> Further, Libya—the entire tract of country—was called the daughter of Epaphus and Memphis, the god and his sacred city; for the Greek, accustomed in his mythi to derive cities and races from the gods, employed the same analogy in reference to foreign nations. But in order to develop the genealogy more completely, we must begin with DANAUS and ÆGYPTUS. It is difficult to imagine what could have determined the Greeks to bring together and fraternise an Achæan tribe in Homer, and the land of Egypt. Yet it is obvious, if we consider the tenor of the legends which have just been examined, that here also we are not to look for primeval traditions, but for mythi to which historical relations gave rise. However, this portion of the whole is evidently the most ancient, for this reason of itself, that the genealogy is here accompanied with *circumstantial narration*; and again, because materials of different kinds are blended and combined. I think that originally τὸ δαυδὸν Ἀργος was employed in the same sense as τὸ δίψιον, the dry, waterless plain, (from δαῖος dry.)<sup>3</sup> Thence speedily arose a Δαυδὸς and a Δανάνη. The poets sang how Zeus, in golden fructifying shower, descended to Danaë, the parched earth; and how

<sup>1</sup> II. 1. 3. 7. 8. Heyne *Ols.*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> II. 1. 1. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Δαυδός, according to the Etymologicum M. sub vo. δανάνη.

Danaus, the plain, in a similar state, begot from himself the springs of the country: for it seems to me obvious that the Danaides, the water-drawers, were originally nothing else than the fountain-nymphs of that region. Four of them certainly were so, viz., Aymone, Peirene, Physadea, and Asteria; and with respect to others, their names prove it. The one that married Lynceus is probably the fountain of the Inachus in the Lynceum or Lyrceum.<sup>1</sup> The Hamadryads were perhaps originally mothers of them all, not merely of the ten in Apollodorus.<sup>2</sup> Now, the Danai, the inhabitants of the δαναὸν Ἄργος, were crowned with heroic fame in epic song, and thence it followed that Danaus became also a *collective of Achæan heroes*. It was in this capacity, I imagine, that he came in contact with Ægyptus; for the Greeks who invaded and plundered Egypt, transported their combats in that country also, as they did in other regions, back to the mythic ages. Perhaps these were at first Rhodian mariners, who had received the mythus of Danaus, together with the worship of Athene, from Argos, their mother-city. The mythus was thus conceived in the Danaid, in which epic the Danaides are represented as warlike heroines fighting on the banks of the Nile.<sup>3</sup> However, it is not by any means clear whether Danaus and Ægyptus were here already regarded as brothers, and the former as having come from Egypt; to me, at least, it appears more probable that the current form of

<sup>1</sup> The fiction of a battle between Danaus and Lynceus in Archilochus, Frgm. 131 Liebel., from Malalas Chronic. iv. in., agrees perfectly well with this.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Völcker *ibid.*, p. 192 sqq., who also explains the sons of Ægyptus in a corresponding manner.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοὶ ἄρ' ὡπλιζόντο θοῶς Δαναῶν θυγατρὲς Πρόσθεν ἑυρέϊδος ποταμοῦ Νείλου ἀνακτος, ap. Clem. Alex., Strom. iv. 522 c.



the legend was unknown until Egypt became Hellenised; but the story of the battle might be older than the 27th Olympiad. Now, Danaus and Ægyptus are called the sons of Belus. That Belus denoted the BAAL of the Babylonians, more immediately known to the Greeks as a Phœnician deity, is in itself clear; and becomes still clearer by the comparison of a Lydian genealogy, to which I shall soon revert. The Greeks mistook this god of anterior Asia for a real person, and placed him at the head of the Egyptian genealogy, which they could do only when they were still quite unacquainted with the actual religion of Egypt, and when that country and Asia still floated in very undefined boundaries before their eyes. At all events, Belus should also have become the head of the Phœnician race, which was represented by Cadmus and Phœnix; but it appears that, in an earlier tradition,<sup>1</sup> AGENOR was already established here as the father of Cadmus, and the genealogist was obliged to rest satisfied with placing Belus by his side. Cadmus was manifestly, at that early period even, regarded as a Phœnician founder of colonies, otherwise the genealogy which makes Belus and Agenor brothers could not have arisen. How he became so, from being the ancient Hermes of the Thebans and Samothracians, it would here be out of place to inquire. I think it is probable that this transformation was occasioned by his connexion with Europa, who was already called by Homer the daughter of Phœnix.<sup>2</sup> Nothing more was

<sup>1</sup> See the ancient oracle in Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 641, and Aristoph. Frogs, 1256.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the Review of Welcker's Cadmus, *Göttingen Review*, 1825.

now left but to unite the genealogy of Epaphus, which was on the whole later, with the more ancient one of Belus. A motive for this was afforded by the circumstance that Danaus, in order not to be a barbarian, must necessarily be derived from the Argive Io, who had come to Egypt; and the intermediate link, which was still wanting, was supplied by LIBYA, who was united in marriage to Poseidon, as the god who holds dominion in and over the sea. Thus we see how, in this genealogy also, everything went on gradually, by means of deductions and analogies which, to those who formed them, doubtless seemed obvious enough; and if indications of this kind cannot everywhere be ascertained with equal clearness and certainty, we ought to reflect that numberless connecting links, that many a determinative circumstance, is to us utterly lost.<sup>1</sup>

A parallel to the above is furnished by the genealogy which Herodotus<sup>2</sup> gives, as an historical truth, of the second dynasty of the Lydian kings, the so-called Heraclidæ, the series of whom began with Agron and closed with Gyges. It runs thus: Hercules, Alcæus, Belus, Ninus, Agron. Here Belus is unquestionably the god of Babylonia, as the juxtaposition with Ninus and Nineve proves; but the fact that Baal, who was above called the ancestor of Hercules in the ninth generation, here becomes his grandson, shows that the two genealogies originated in quite different places. These princes of Lydia evidently traced their lineage from the east,—from

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Welcker, *Prometh.*, p. 399. I coincide more with his views than with those laid down by Buttmann in his *Essay: On the Mythic Connexion of Greece and Asia*, *Papers of the Berlin Acad.* 1818.

<sup>2</sup> I. 7.

the great monarchies of anterior Asia; whether correctly or not does not here concern us: but Hercules, the Hellenic hero, was afterwards placed over these Asiatic progenitors. This was probably owing to the circumstance, that the Greeks observed in Lydia representations of an effeminate worship, in which the husband served the wife; their Hercules in the service of the *fainéant* Eurystheus<sup>1</sup> occurred to them. Hercules, then, must have lived also in Lydia, and the princes of the country must be descended from him. The Lydians willingly adopted this genealogy, and interwove it with a native one, if the Greeks did not likewise do so. Alcæus, as we know, is only another name for Hercules, who, by a confusion of frequent occurrence, was converted into his son. If the case stands thus, the probability arises that the mythus of Hercules was known to the Lydians, and had become naturalized among them, before those so-called Heraclidæ were overthrown by the Mermnadæ—an event which took place soon after the beginning of the Olympiads: for it would surely be a strange fancy to derive a dispossessed family from a far-famed and deified ancestor, of whom it was itself entirely ignorant. There is nothing which militates against this supposition, although the testimonies of the poets are all of later date. The most ancient is the notice of the *Λυδοὶ χυρσοχίτρωνες* in Pisander's *Heraclea*, (about the 33d Olympiad,)<sup>2</sup> which, after taking that circumstance into consideration, I no longer hesitate to refer to the legend of Hercules's residence in Lydia.

Were it the design of the author (which it is not

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Dor., vol. i. p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 538.

in this work) to enter into exhaustive determinations, he would attempt to develop the entire relations of Greece to foreign countries during the first fifty Olympiads, by a series of mythi : those, for example, of Cepheus, the scene of which is laid in mythic Æthiopia ; those relating to Memnon and Phineus ; and others of the same kind. Here what has been adduced will suffice to show how active the invention of genuine mythi, particularly in national genealogies, continued throughout the period specified ; *in comparison with which, what was afterwards done scarce deserves consideration.* In fact, everything that has been brought forward in this chapter contributes to the result, that *down to the 50th Olympiad, and perhaps somewhat further, i. e., until prose writing became generally adopted, ideas and opinions, blended with facts, frequently assumed, among the Grecian people, the form of mythic narrations, which were actually believed ; but scarcely later than that, if we distinguish the mythus from the philosophical allegory, the historical hypothesis, and the epigrammatic conceit.* I have only to remark, that here we still speak of mythi in the sense laid down in the first chapter, and that the word is by no means intended to denote the mixture of faith and the marvellous with real history, which existed to a much later period.<sup>1</sup> But, perhaps, in the opinion of many learned men, I ought not to have confined the proof to colonial legends and genealogical trees, but should have extended it to *mystic religious mythi*, from which both the former are said to have sprung only about the 70th Olympiad, and subsequent-

<sup>1</sup> Even the Delphian god acknowledged heroes down to the 72d Olympiad. Paus., vi. 9.

ly. I have hitherto said nothing of these mythi, because the ordinary mode of treating them seems to lead to no sure results. In the Appendix something will be said regarding the Orphici. But even these learned men certainly do not believe that such *μυστικοὶ λόγοι* were legends or mythi, in the restricted sense in which it is here employed; but that, on the contrary, they were vain lies and imposture—and that is a further reason for leaving them aside. Another objection to the foregoing position might perhaps be taken from the so-called *astronomical* mythi, which many consider as partly the inventions of the Alexandrian poets and philosophers, and which, nevertheless, were treated by the ancients as mythi. Partly on this account, and partly because the various notions which prevail on this subject come into frequent contradiction with the opinions laid down in this work, it will be useful and proper to append here a brief examination of the matter.

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## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

### *On Astronomical Mythi.*

THE most ancient poet extant mentions merely the following constellations, (which term, however, must not yet be understood to denote actual figures with definite outlines,) viz., the PLEIADES, the HYADES, the mighty ORION, the BEAR or WAIN, together with BOÖTES, and lastly, the DOG OF ORION. He does not

appear to have known any others; and Hesiod also, who had so frequent opportunities of naming stars, never alludes to any but these.<sup>1</sup> Of the constellations just enumerated, the two first have names of the patronymic form; and form merely, it unquestionably is: for it is perfectly clear that, in the primitive Greek language generally, it often denoted nothing more than derivation. The PLEIADES are doubtless the Ship-stars, (from *πλεῖν*.) In ancient Greece, the season for navigation began with their rising, and closed with their setting.<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, therefore, called them the daughters of Atlas,<sup>3</sup> in the sense in which Atlas was taken by the ancient poets, and which Völcker<sup>4</sup> has lately developed with great ingenuity: viz., the daughters of the never-resting, adventurous mariner, who must naturally have already taken the Seven Stars for his guide upon the ocean. Names, also, from Peloponnesian legends were given to each of the Pleiads; and Helianicus, in the Atlantis, brought a great number of mythi into connexion with the family of Atlas. Heroines were chosen, whose names signified splendour, as Electra and Sterope: or bore reference to navigation, as Celæno and Alcyone; but in others the allusion lies more concealed. This, however, does not appear to have taken place until a considerable time after Homer; for the hymn to Hermes, which is later than Terpander,<sup>5</sup> does not call Maia a daughter of Atlas, but merely a revered nymph.<sup>6</sup> It is not certain whether the cyclic poets employed these

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Shaubach, *Hist. of Astronomy*, p. 11-23.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 619.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

<sup>4</sup> *Mythology of the Japetidæ*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> V. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the review of Völcker's work in the *Göttingen Review*, 1825.

names; but, at all events, they imagined<sup>1</sup> the Pleiades to be virgins who had lived on earth, and were afterwards placed among the stars. Æschylus also, as well as Simonides, was acquainted with this catasterism.<sup>2</sup> However, the mythi regarding them were not thereby either formed anew or even modified; and the only alteration was, that each of the Seven Stars now received a distinctive name. As the Pleiades were the Ship-stars, so the HYADES, as even Ovid says,<sup>3</sup> were the Rain-stars. They were supposed to bring rain; and were, therefore, regarded as fostering nymphs who had reared Bacchus at Dodona.<sup>4</sup> It is not, however, by any means certain that the stars were, from the first, considered to be these nurses. The probability seems to me, at least, rather to incline to the opinion that rain-bringing nymphs were worshipped from a remote period at Dodona, together with Jove the cloud-gatherer; and that only afterwards were these connected and identified with the RAIN-STARS. The names which Pherecydes gives to these stars, viz., Ambrosia, Coronis, Eudora, Phæsytle, Phæo, Polyxo, Dione, are also, as the last proves, derived from the Dodonian mythology. They were probably more ancient there than the fable of their transformation into stars; which is, however, as old as Pherecydes. Nearly the same names, indeed, (Phæsytle, Coronis, Cleieia, Phæo, Eudora,) are given to this cluster in a Hesiodic poem;<sup>5</sup> but this poem was the ἀστροικὴ βίβλος pronounced spurious by Athenæus,<sup>6</sup> perhaps a product of the Alexandrian age,

<sup>1</sup> According to the extract in *Schol. Ven. et min.*, II., xviii. 486.

<sup>2</sup> Athen., xi. 490, e *Schol. min.*, II., l. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Fasti, v. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Pherecydes ap. Sturz., p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> Theon ad Arat. Ph., 172. <sup>6</sup> XI. 491.

(against which opinion, at least, the epigram of Callimachus on Aratus proves nothing.) Thus, therefore, with the exception of the genealogy of the Pleiades, which is also extended to the Hyades, we have found *no astronomical fable, properly so called*. With regard to the BEAR, it is evident that the mere appearance of the constellation, and the comparison of it with all manner of animal shapes, could not have furnished a sufficient ground for the denomination. The Bear must have been otherwise significant and sacred in the eyes of the people who gave this name to the constellation. It is, therefore, probable (and it is even said to have been sung by Hesiod) that the name originated with the Arcadians, to whom the bear was a symbol of their much-honoured goddess Artemis, and who, therefore, fancied that they even deserved an image of it in the heavens. But there is nothing in the mythus of Callisto to which we can lay claim as being invented for the sake of the constellation. The case may be different with ORION, the mythi relating to which must, as it seems to me, be divided into two classes. In the first place, the gigantic Orion, or Oarion with his brazen club, is an ancient hero, or rather a god of war and the chase, worshipped by the early inhabitants of Hyria (Uria) in Bœotia.<sup>1</sup> The Bœotians of that neighbourhood were somehow reminded of him by the brilliant constellation which has been ever since called Orion. Whether it was on account of its shape, or its extraordinary splendour, I will not undertake to decide. But the ancient Greeks certainly did not believe in his actual and personal presence in heaven, any more than our

<sup>1</sup> See Tzetz. ad Lyc., 328., comp. 938, 1410. Orch. p. 100.



countrymen, when they call three stars, "the Three Sacred Kings," identify the latter with the former. Accordingly, Orion is the only purely mythological figure in the heavens; and on that account it gave rise, even as a constellation, to mythi in the olden time. Orion pursuing the Pleiades<sup>1</sup> was originally nothing more than a simple figurative expression for the position and direction of the stars. It was perhaps first decked out as a mythus by the poets;<sup>2</sup> and in the same way was the fiction of still earlier times invented, that Eos, "day-light," loved and carried off Orion.<sup>3</sup> The DOG OF ORION is a lucky combination of the ante-Homeric times, by which a dog, already stationed in the sky, was brought into connexion with Orion the god of hunting: so that, when the bear was viewed as the hunted animal, a mighty chase, which was afterwards developed still more, swept over the entire heavens. The bright star which the Greeks called the dog, and the Romans *Canicula*, is, with the exception of the sun and moon, *the only one*, so far as I can discover, *that occupied an important rank in the worship of the Greeks*. It makes its appearance, according to Homer, in the *ὀπώρα*, the season which ripens the fruit of trees, (on the 27th day of the Crab, according to Euctemon and Eudoxus;) and emerging from the bath of Oceanus, it beams with piercing brilliancy, and sends parching heat to afflicted man.<sup>4</sup> Hence it was called by Hesiod *Σείριος* or "glow-star."<sup>5</sup> Now, the dog must have

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, Works and Days, 619.

<sup>2</sup> See the Cyclic Poets, ap. Schol. Il., xviii. 486, Pind. N. ii. 11, Dithyr. Frgm. 11, Böckh.

<sup>3</sup> Odyss., v. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Il., v. 5; xxii. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Theog. 587, Shield, 397.

been from the earliest ages the symbol of summer's heat, probably because canine madness occurs at that season: the animal which feels most intensely the influence of the fiery star being confounded with it by a child-like kind of intuition. The great attention paid to this particular phenomenon by the Greeks is manifest from this, that an entire district of Arcadia was called *Κύναιθα*, "dog-heat," merely because there was a fountain there, the *Ἄλυσσος πηγὴ*, which was said to cure it;<sup>1</sup> and in Argos there was held, during the dog-days, a festival called *Arnis* or *Cynophontis*, at which a great number of dogs were killed.<sup>2</sup> Therefore two sacrifices were offered up at the rising of the dog-star, on the top of Pelion, to Jupiter *Actæus*, (a god of nourishment from *Δημητῆρος ακτή*), from whose worship it can be shown, that the mythus of *Actæus*, torn in pieces by his fifty dogs, was formed.<sup>3</sup> *Actæus'* father, *Aristæus*, Jupiter also originally, taught at *Ceos* how to appease *Sirius* by continued sacrifices,<sup>4</sup> and conjured up the *Etesiae*, trade-winds blowing from the north, which tempered the heat of the fifty dog-days.<sup>5</sup> Finally, *Sirius*, without whose influence wine cannot ripen, appears in the *Dionysian* mythi under the name of *Mæra*, "bright star,"<sup>6</sup> and, in like manner, in the form of a dog.<sup>7</sup> All this goes to prove that the dog, as a symbol of *Sirius* and the glowing heat of summer, was employed in festal ceremonies and mythi from a very early period.

<sup>1</sup> Paus., viii. 19. 2. Comp. Schwenk's *Etym. Myth. Andeut.*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Conon, 19. *Athen.* iii. 99°.

<sup>3</sup> *Diocæarchus* in *Hudson*, G. M. ii. p. 27. *Orch.*, pp. 248, 349.

<sup>4</sup> *Apollon. Rh.*, ii. 500.

<sup>5</sup> *Dor.*, i. p. 306. Comp. *Eudox.* ap. *Gemin.* *χρόνοι τῶν ζωδίων in.*

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Lycophr.*, 333. <sup>7</sup> *Creuzer Symb.*, iii. p. 339, 32.

and that this star was at least supposed to have something of the nature of a dæmon, although the stars were generally viewed as belonging to the class of meteors, and not by any means regarded as great deities.

The genealogy of the Pleiades from Atlas, Orion's pursuit of them, the relation of that hero to Eos, the legends of the dog-star as a symbol of glowing heat, and perhaps, too, those regarding the Hyades as nurses, are the *only astronomical mythi*—that is to say, the only mythi to be explained by the relations, properties and fancied influences of the heavenly bodies—which are presented to us by the elder mythology of the Greeks. It is asked if the succeeding centuries, down to the time of the Alexandrians, added in any considerable degree to their number? So little, in my opinion, that during that period mythic invention and the tracing of constellations were *perfectly distinct activities*. The reason of this may be easily perceived. These ages were no longer simple and fanciful enough to see images of gods and heroes in the heavens, as the ancient Arcadian beheld his Callisto, the Bæotian his Orion; but they still viewed the mythus in too serious a light to sport freely and wantonly with mythic personages, and assign them, capriciously, this or that place among the stars. We find, therefore, that throughout the whole of this period, the observers of the heavens were allowed to go on gradually adding to the list of constellations, and drawing new lines of direction, without any particular interest in the matter being shown by the *poets*. Thales recommended to his countrymen to observe, like the Phœnicians,

the Lesser Bear, which, from the path of its revolution being smaller, is a safer guide to the navigator than the Great Bear. It was therefore called "the Phœnician constellation," and also, on account of its form, "the Dog's-tail."<sup>1</sup> Cleostratus, about the 60th Olympiad, gave a fixed place to the Ram and the Archer, (who received the form of a rude mountain-hunter,) both zodiacal constellations. In the 85th Olympiad, Euctemon was acquainted with the Water-bearer, the Arrow, the Eagle, the Dolphin, the Lyre, the Scorpion, and the Horse.<sup>2</sup> There is *nothing mythological* in any of these appellations; the names are, for the most part, given to the constellations from their figure, and also partly from their relations to atmospherical phenomena. The Αἴξ, although not mentioned by any ancient poet, must have received that name *before* the time of Cleostratus, who placed the Kid beside it. It is obvious that he supposed the name to signify "goat," whereas it originally denoted the "storm-star."<sup>3</sup> Its mythological reference afterwards arose out of this misconception. The tendency to call the constellations after mythic personages does not again make its appearance until the 110th Olympiad with Eudoxus, who is the first to mention Cepheus, Cassiopeia, Perseus, Andromeda, and the Sea-monster, as well as the Argo, the Centaur, &c.; although even his celestial chart was still far from being held in repute by after ages, as is shown by Aratus, who, not long

<sup>1</sup> Arat. Phæn., 36 sq. with Voss's Rem.

<sup>2</sup> According to Geminus, ib.

<sup>3</sup> As Buttmann has shown in Ideler's Invest. on the Origin of the Names of the Stars, p. 309.

after, described the sphere of Eudoxus, and who was acquainted with abundance of constellations, but with comparatively few mythological names.<sup>1</sup> It is particularly evident from him, that to the Greeks, in most cases, the forms existed before their mythological names. For example, he describes Engonasis as a figure crouching on the knees, and with outspread hands, remarking, at the same time, that this is a form *which no one can distinctly explain*.<sup>2</sup> Succeeding writers show in what various and ingenious ways this was attempted, and how many different cycles of mythi were laid under contribution for that purpose. In like manner, also, there were many instances in which, even subsequent to the time of Eudoxus, the mythological name superseded the simple description of form, as *e. g.*, the star-stream was converted into Eridanus. Now, with regard to the poets of the ante-Alexandrian period, the starry heavens were to them scarcely, if at all, a subject of mythic narrations. We must not allow ourselves to be here misled by the quotations of Eratosthenes, Hyginus, and others. Such citations refer merely to the mythus employed for the purpose of illustrating the constellation, if the contrary is not expressly stated, and sometimes even then. The so-called Eratosthenes (only an Excerpt from Hyginus, according to the probable opinion of Bernhardt) begins thus the ninth chapter of Catas-

<sup>1</sup> The question is here left unexamined, whether these forms were devised by Grecian astronomers, or were elsewhere derived. The awkward collocation of many of them, and the strange way in which they cross each other—the Goat and Auriga for instance, seem to indicate a *variety* of sources.

<sup>2</sup> V. 63 sqq.

terisms. "THE VIRGIN. Hesiod, in his Theogony, calls her the daughter of Zeus and Themis;" and precisely the same statement is to be found in Hyginus.<sup>1</sup> Now, we know to a certainty that Hesiod only gave the genealogy of Dice,<sup>2</sup> without saying a word about her becoming a constellation, (had this been mentioned by the ancient bard, she would never have been represented bearing ears of corn;) and it is evident that error and confusion have crept into both these works. The Scholiast on Germanicus quotes the catasterism of the Ram from Hesiod and Pherecydes. He manifestly misunderstood his predecessor, Hyginus, who cites the poet and the logographer merely with reference to the golden fleece.<sup>3</sup> In like manner, the changing of Eridanus into a constellation, which Hesiod is asserted by the same writer to testify, is nothing else than a bold addition to the Hesiodic fable in Hyginus,<sup>4</sup> (unless perhaps the ἀστρική βίβλος be the source of both.) Pisander and Panyasis, on the contrary, are expressly quoted *merely* for the history of Hercules' combat with the Lion and the Hydra;<sup>5</sup> with the same view Sophocles is referred to for Cassiopeia, Euripides for Andromeda; and with regard to the figure of the Horse, we must be permitted to doubt that the catasterism of Hippo, the daughter of Chiron, is taken from the Melanippe of the latter poet; but he may have given occasion to it by representing her as a predictor of events from the stars.<sup>6</sup> I would not have deemed it necessary to expose the inaccurate statements of

<sup>1</sup> Hygin., P. A. ii. 25.<sup>2</sup> V. 901.<sup>3</sup> P. A. ii. 20.<sup>4</sup> Fab., 154.<sup>5</sup> Eratosth., ii. 12. P. A. ii. 6. 24.<sup>6</sup> *Frgm.*, 27. B.

these fable-compilers, if I did not observe that even sceptical inquirers often allow themselves to be deceived by them. In Engonasis, Æschylus is said to have recognised Hercules, who knelt down, when wounded in the country of the Ligians,<sup>1</sup> and was, in that posture, converted by Zeus into a constellation. This is, also, actually stated by Hyginus;<sup>2</sup> but here, it is a manifest addition by the mythographer, or his excerpter, as is proved by a comparison of the passage, given entire by Strabo,<sup>3</sup> from the Prometheus Unbound. And, if Æschylus really gave a place, amid his lofty imaginings, to such a cold pedantic conceit, how could the learned Aratus assert that no one had yet explained the figure of Engonasis. In Alexandria, also, abundance of fables were gathered from the tragedians, for the purpose of illustrating the constellations. Among others, there was an author named Hegesianax, who laboured in this way, and who is, therefore, the favourite authority of Hyginus in Attic legends.<sup>4</sup> But let us now withdraw our attention from all these equivocal citations, furnished by the compilers of astronomical mythi, and confine our view to the extant works and fragments of the period specified.

To maintain, from the third and seventeenth odes of the Anacreontica, that the ancient poet of the

<sup>1</sup> Voss on Arat., 63.

<sup>2</sup> Hygin., ii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> IV. p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, it might be inferred, from the fragment in Dionys. Hal., A. R. i. 12, that Hegesianax's Explanation of Ophiuchus, by Carnabon king of the Getæ, P. A. ii. 14, so far as concerns the mythus itself, was taken from the Triptolemus of Sophocles; it is now most clearly proved by a verse from it in Herodian, τ. μον. λξξ. p. 9, 30, Dind., where I should be inclined to read, καὶ Χαρναβαντος, ὃς τῶν ἄρχει ταινῶν.

60th Olympiad mentioned both Wains or Bears, (Euripides certainly does so,) and described Boötes as a constellation with tolerable accuracy,<sup>1</sup> seems to me a very bold assertion; for in these poems, the spurious equals, nay exceeds in amount what is genuine: and with regard to the Wains, moreover, the reading is not to be depended on. An Anacreontic pentameter, quoted by Hyginus,<sup>2</sup> and said to refer to Engonasis, “ἀρχοῦ δ' Αἰγείδew Θησέος ἐστὶ λύρη,” (thus it runs according to the emendation of a scholar,) probably had not, in the original, the astronomical meaning which has been engrafted on it.<sup>3</sup> Pindar certainly does not allude to the Horse in the heavens, (which has no wings even, and for that reason alone cannot be Pegasus, which was represented with wings on very old Corinthian Koppa-coins,) unless, perhaps, with Thiersch, whose grounds, however, are not sufficient, we read ἀργεῖναι φάτναι. Neither does Pindar refer to Aquarius; he only applied, like previous interpreters, the name of Ganymede<sup>4</sup> to the dæmon of the overflowing Nile—probably the same that the people of Chemmis, on account of his magic shoe, identified<sup>5</sup> with Perseus. I find in Pindar only *one* astronomical mythus—that is to say, if Böckh<sup>6</sup> correctly assigned a poetical fragment in Lucian<sup>7</sup> to a Pindaric poem,<sup>8</sup> and Voss<sup>9</sup> has accurately explained “κύων λεοντοδάμας.” For if both are right, the zodiacal lion must have been known to Pindar, who connected it with Orion in a great chase.

<sup>1</sup> See Voss ad Arat., v. 37. Schaubach, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> P. A., ii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ol. xiii. 88. See Heyne and Böckh.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Arat. Phæn., 282. Böckh, *Frgm., inc.* 110.

<sup>5</sup> Herod., ii. 91.

<sup>6</sup> After Solanus and Schneider.

<sup>7</sup> *Pro Imag.*, 19.

<sup>8</sup> Dithyr. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Ad Arat., 326.



The Dog of Orion (whose direction must have been then different from what it is now) became a lion-queller, whereas Homer conceived him to be in pursuit of the Bear. Still I would scarcely be inclined to call this a new mythus, as the whole idea is contained in a single epithet. The fiction of Ariadne's crown being placed among the stars makes its appearance in Pherecydes<sup>1</sup> about the same time, and must of course have been suggested by the form of the constellation. To that time, also, may belong the mythic appellation of the milky way, "Phaëthon's path," which Aristotle<sup>2</sup> derives from the Pythagoreans. But, nevertheless, the tragic writers show very clearly how little the number of constellations had increased which were known among the people, and could therefore be alluded to by the poets. Schaubach,<sup>3</sup> indeed, quotes from Euripides several new constellations, but scarcely a single one correctly: for the Hare<sup>4</sup> rests merely on a quite unwarranted alteration of the text by Musgrave. The poet places the seven stars of Pleias near Sirius, because, in the intermediate space, no constellations were yet traced or known. The two Dioscouri in the shining ether,<sup>5</sup> are doubtless St Elmo's fire. The author of Rhesus, who has introduced the Eagle from Democritus and Euctemon,<sup>6</sup> betrays a remarkable anxiety to display his learning. So far as I can discover, therefore, the Lesser Bear is the only post-Homeric constellation to be found in Euripides,<sup>7</sup> nor, excepting an interpretation of the

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Od. xi. 320.

<sup>2</sup> P. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Iphig. Aul. v. 773; and Electra. 998.

<sup>4</sup> In Pirithoos.

<sup>5</sup> Meteor. i. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Iphig. Aul. 7.

<sup>7</sup> V. 553.

Hyades from the Attic mythology, does he furnish any fables regarding the stars.<sup>1</sup>

Now, if it follows from the above that during the whole of this period, neither were astronomical mythi deserving the name produced, nor did, generally speaking, mythology and astronomy go hand in hand, the latter tendency was so much the more active in the schools of the ALEXANDRIAN GRAMMARIANS. But in what manner? Surely not so as that from the form of a constellation, and its relation to others, a mythus was at once produced off-hand? Certainly not; for invention was not, on the whole, the business of that century, but rather learned compilation; and, moreover, these astronomical fables, being purely fictitious, would be destitute of value and significance. A consideration of particular cases shows us sufficiently how they went to work. Older poets and mythographers were ransacked for legends in which mention was made of any being or animal such as was already traced on the heavens. How many examples did they find in them for Auriga, Ophiuchus, Taurus, Delphin, Draco, &c. ! Nor did they entirely neglect various other sources of a less pure and legitimate character. Hyginus, for instance, repeatedly quotes Euhemerus. Popular comic tales, such as that of the Raven,<sup>2</sup> and also allegories, that, for example, regarding the Muse's son, Κρότος,<sup>3</sup> were in like manner employed to explain the constellations; and even Syrian and Egyptian fables were brought within their sphere by these compilers

<sup>1</sup> Phaëthon and Erechtheus, in Theon on Arat., 172.

<sup>2</sup> Eratosth., 41.

<sup>3</sup> Eratosth., 28.

and interpreters. All that they contain of original, amounts merely to the following addition, viz. :—  
“On this occasion, the person or animal was placed among the stars.” Here and there a conceit is introduced, as when a later poet says, that the Bear never goes down, because Hera, the Ocean-goddess, vowed never to receive her rival Callisto. Sometimes, too, a name is altered ; but this, I think, is more likely to have been the result of carelessness and frequent repetition, than of design ; thus, the legend of the Greater is transferred to the Lesser Bear, and the name of the metamorphosed nymph is straightway changed from Callisto to Phœnice.<sup>1</sup> Or a turn is even given to some indifferent circumstance in the original mythus, so as to make room for an astronomical allusion ; thus, Euphorion<sup>2</sup> fabled, and perhaps he was the first to do so, that Artemis killed Orion, by means of a Scorpion, with obvious reference to the fact, that Orion goes down when the Scorpion appears in the heavens. Here it is impossible not to see, that we are indebted to the astronomical learning of the poet for the addition of the destroying animal. In like manner, there are to be found in this class of fables, various other distinct references and collateral allusions to the rising and setting of stars, which, however, do not necessarily require even a modification of the fable, but could be developed by merely a skilful selection and arrangement of mythi, as in the case of the Centaur and the Horse. On the other hand, although I have carefully examined Hyginus, the so-called Eratos-

<sup>1</sup> Eratosth., 2.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Schol. Ven.* Il. xviii. 486.

thenes, and the scholia to Germanicus, I, at least, have *not discovered a single fable invented for the express purpose of illustrating the form and position of a constellation.* Even where a more ancient and direct notice was wanting, it seemed to me that I could, invariably, from the tenor of the narrative itself, detect its derivative character. But this, indeed, cannot be pointed out in particular cases, without the circumstantial treatment of a mass of local traditions.

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## CHAPTER X.

### *How to separate the Mythus from the Modifications of Poets and Prose-Writers.*

AFTER these considerations on the Idea and the Sources of the Greek Mythus, as well as the Manner of its Origin and its Age, we shall now try to point out the way in which we may be enabled to decipher it with some degree of certainty. The author will neither conceal from himself nor others, that even after the establishment of many preliminary points, the path is still dubious, every step attended with difficulties; and if complete and general satisfaction be attainable, it is at best but a distant goal. In that which is to us the source of the mythus, the additions of poets and other authors must be separated from the genuine tradition; but the mythus is of an essentially changeable

and fluctuating character. Even at its birth, it contains elements which are to us heterogeneous; one and the same object, also, is often, from the outset, treated variously in mythi: so that a learned author<sup>1</sup> speaks with good reason of "the luxuriant richness and charming variety of the materials," against which the greatest order and regularity, in the treatment, must be brought to bear.

"But," some one might object, "will the anticipated profit compensate for all this labour and trouble; and can we find no better employment than the interpretation of mythi?" I think, that the more difficult the task, (which required, according to Plato,<sup>2</sup> even in his day, a man of great zeal and industry, and without any sanguine hope of good fortune,) and the less clear gain it promises, the more ought we to thank those who undertake it: for mythology must, at any rate, be subjected to philosophical treatment; and whoever wishes to obtain a vivid knowledge of Hellenic antiquity, must desire such a treatment. We know, too, that mythi, as the ground-work of poetry and art, were, for centuries, the favourite occupation of the Grecian people; and how were it possible, without a knowledge of these mythi, and their origin, to form an idea of the state of intellectual life at that period? The internal, as well as the external history of the Greeks, is cut away by the roots, if we reject the mythus as of no avail to the science, or, perhaps, substitute for this only genuine source, mere arbitrary suppositions and chimeras. If any one has, in addition to this,—what is, indeed, of rare oc-

<sup>1</sup> Welcker, Appendix to Schwenk, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Phæd., p. 229.

currence in our days,—a susceptibility for the manifold expression of religious feelings, he will be attracted, in a particular manner, by antiquity, and, most of all, by the mythus.

Now, what, I would ask, do we chiefly require from history? To see men act and think just as we act and think, and to regard with self-complacency our own elevation in the scale of improvement? Turn, then, your attention rather to actual life, and observe what is now going on in cabinets and *salons*. But history ought to raise us above such narrow views, and teach us to place humanity, in general, above an insulated epoch. We should also learn to understand in its real nature what is at variance with our notions. In my opinion, an acquaintance with antiquity tends to exalt and humanize the mind, for no reason more than this,—that it places before us a novel aspect of humanity, in all the breadth, energy, and completeness of its existence. And does not mythology, of all branches of ancient knowledge, carry us away furthest from the sphere of the present into laboratories of ideas and forms whose entire plan and construction are still an historical problem?

I daresay that many others, who have earnestly devoted themselves to mythology, and experienced the manifold attractions of this study, will feel inclined to pronounce on it a still higher eulogium. I must apply myself to the subject which now demands our attention. Our aim is, to obtain a right knowledge of the mythus; in other words, we wish to learn what internal or external activity, what thoughts or actions, are by means of it conveyed to

us. We already know that it usually attained, only by slow degrees, the form in which we have received it; but, on the other hand, in order to arrive at a complete understanding, we desire to ascertain its first and original form. But how can this be done? We can begin nowhere, but with the transmitters of mythi,—the authors who relate them. The first step in the process must therefore be, to *separate* what they added, whether it might be poetical embellishment, pragmatic connexion, or philosophical interpretation. Now, what is to be regarded as such can only be determined, with any degree of accuracy, by an acquaintance with the different authors, and their mode of proceeding, of which the third chapter merely furnished the first outlines. I shall here add a few remarks on the method of handling mythi, observed by poets and historical writers, in general.

From Homer<sup>1</sup> downwards, the *psychological springs of events* were left entirely under the control of the POETS. Tradition was silent as to what Agamemnon and Achilles thought: it was enough that it spoke of the wrath of the princes, and the destruction thereby brought upon the Greeks. Hence, the motives assigned were different in different authors; and the lyric, as well as the tragic poet, was left entirely to his own discretion. Æschylus, in his Prometheus, took from Hesiod merely the external facts,—the fire-theft, the chaining to the rock, the deliverance by Hercules, &c. For the motives of the actors, and, therefore, the internal import of the action, he drew entirely on his own invention. Accordingly, when

<sup>1</sup> Comp. above, p. 24.

the restoration of Alcestis to life by Hercules is ascribed by Euripides merely to the hero's friendship for Admetus,<sup>1</sup> we are not to regard this as a tradition. Deeper motives might be known to the legend ; but this did not in the least prevent Euripides, who exhibits Hercules in a comic light, from substituting one which better suited his purpose. But with respect to the manner in which the poets are wont to assign motives, it seems to me evident that they have a tendency to represent *personal wishes* and *individual inclinations* as the springs of action, even where they could not be so, according to the original meaning of the mythus. One example, among others, is furnished by the Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollo, which, in my opinion, was composed before the 47th Olympiad, previous to the Pythian Curule Games and the destruction of Cirrha. Apollo is in search of a sanctuary ; and, for no other reason than that he is pleased with the situation, he resolves to build it at the fountain of Tilphossa, near Haliartus and Alalcomenæ, in Bœotia. The fountain dissuades him, because she fears the fame of the god might eclipse her own, and advises him to go to the glen of Crissa in Parnassus ; for she seems to know that the monster Python has his den there, and hopes that the god may become his victim. Now Apollo kills the dragon and builds his temple ; but he buries under a crag the fountain Tilphossa, whose treachery he had seen through, and rears beside it an altar for himself as Tilphossius. He now considers whence he may bring prophets and sacrificial priests. He descries a ship at sea, filled with Cretans and sailing for Pylus,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Dor., vol. i. p. 429.



whither they are bound for purposes of traffic. He terrifies them by laying himself on board the ship in the form of a dolphin; drives her with a south-west wind as far as Crissa; presents himself to them there in human form; reveals himself as Apollo the son of Zeus; commands an altar to be raised to himself, as dolphin-god, on the shore; and leads his servants to the choral step of the Pæan, up to his Parnassian sanctuary, where he consecrates them as his priests. Now, if we search into the circumstances which influenced the formation of this legend, the first we discover is, *Cretans in the service of Apollo at Crissa and in the Pythian sanctuary*. This fact is amply supported by the agreement of ancient traditions with historical vestiges. Secondly, *Apollo was also worshipped at the Tilphossa in Bæotia*; and here, also, in the territory of Haliartus and Ocaleæ, did native tradition speak of Cretan inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that these strangers are connected with the worship of Apollo in both places, and that it was introduced by them; but it is no less certain that the sanctuary of the latter settlement was far from attaining the importance of the Pythian temple. A third circumstance is the ancient name of *Δελφίνιος*, which Apollo bore at Crissa. The foundation assigned for it in the hymn, is of course thoroughly mythical. It might have been related at Delphi, that Apollo in that form had brought thither the Cretan priests; and the same might, with equal justice, have been given out at any other place where the god was known by that appellation. But if he was also wor-

<sup>1</sup> Apollod., ii. 4, 11. Plut. Lys., 28.

shipped as Delphinus at Cnossus,<sup>1</sup> who can doubt that the name was brought to Delphi from that quarter? The fourth circumstance was of a physical character, viz., *The sudden disappearance of the Tilphossa under a rock.*<sup>2</sup> Now, from these circumstances, the tradition naturally arose, that Apollo himself, in the form of a dolphin, led his Cretans to Crissa,—for they were taught, by the blessing which accompanied them, that they had not come *without the god*,—and that he had intended to make Tilphossium one of his sanctuaries, perhaps his favourite one, but remained satisfied with erecting an altar there; for what time and skill effected, became, as usual, the will and act of the deity. The mythus saw the ground of this change in his anger against the fountain, which was manifested plainly enough to the eye of faith in the sudden disappearance of its waters. Thus far, I think, did the legend go. Now, the *poet* does not, properly speaking, make any alteration in the matter. He only places Apollo's quarrel with the fountain in the fore-ground, and finds, in his personal resentment, the reason why he preferred Pytho. Hence, the Cretans, who were in reality the cause of the whole, naturally came to be regarded as having come there by accident. This single example may lead the curious inquirer to observe how poetical representation, religious tradition, and sacred history, stand related to each other, and how they might all be disentangled from one another.

The influence of the poets, and of the poets alone, was still more deeply felt in another point. When

<sup>1</sup> Chishull, *Antt. Asiatic.*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> I have remarked, *Orch.*, p. 47, that this is still the case.

we survey the Grecian mythology, as it is presented to us, for instance, in Apollodorus, we observe a certain uniformity and correspondence in all its parts. Except in the theogonic portion, the same narrow circle of deities everywhere appears, if we disregard occasional isolated and half-obliterated traces; the gods even act throughout in the same character. The chief individual heroes, such as Hercules, always perform the same part. The compilers of mythi could not alone produce this uniformity; but it certainly was not observed to the same extent in the original local traditions. In these a deity did not, by any means, invariably exhibit the same character, when he bore the same name; and the sister of Apollo, the Arcadian goddess of fountains, and the All-mother of the Ephesians, were totally different beings, although they were all called Artemis. The reconciling of differences might indeed be partly effected by mutual intercourse, and by national sanctuaries of general repute; but it must have been promoted more especially by *poetry*, from the time that the latter had become a common possession among the Greeks. The ascendancy which the ideas communicated in poetry obtained over those that prevailed in the legends of individual districts, is very remarkable, but not less easily explained, partly by the general diffusion, and partly by the great clearness and intelligibility of the former. In the old Attic mythi, Athena, who is served by the three Agraulian virgins, figures as a being who presided over agriculture. In Homer she became the goddess of practical wisdom, as indeed she had been already represented in

a Hereclea<sup>1</sup> of more ancient date, which could scarcely have been the case without some ground being furnished by the mythus. Succeeding poets went still further in the same track, and presupposed that character of the goddess which was most vividly present to their minds, even in the treatment of mythi, where it had been quite differently conceived ; for example, these old Attic mythi themselves. The Grecian people in general, at least where poetical culture was diffused, could not well imagine her god-head in a different form from that in which it had been described by Homer ; and the older ideas which deviated from that standard, only left behind them obscure and enigmatical traces of their existence in some ancient names, ceremonies, and dark local traditions. This astonishing influence of poetry led Herodotus to the assertion, (which must, however, from other statements of the same author, be greatly modified,) that Homer and Hesiod had made for the Greeks their theogony, given to the gods their appellations, determined their forms, and assigned to each his office and art. Now, as a matter of course, this predominant tendency of poetry to produce uniformity re-acted on the local traditions themselves ; for, as we have already remarked,<sup>2</sup> these were not exempt from the influence of the prevailing culture, poetry to wit. Even with those among whom such legends were indigenous, the Homeric, or the poetic idea in general, crept imperceptibly into the room of those which had been locally transmitted, and the mythus assumed to them a perfectly

<sup>1</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 543.

<sup>2</sup> P. 47.

new form, although they did not contribute intentionally to the change. To give an example : Artemis and Alpheus were a pair, as has been stated above,<sup>1</sup> in the ancient legend of Elis. But the poets, proceeding on the representations of a particular worship, established the idea that she was a coy virgin ; and this idea also obtained currency among the Eleans. Thence it necessarily followed that their mutual love must become one-sided, the passion of Alpheus remain unrequited ; and the legend, as can be shown, was altered accordingly. Here the mythus, modified by the prevailing notion, was a local tradition ; in the case of Callisto,<sup>2</sup> it was perhaps nothing more than a poetical fable ; but in the latter, also, it may be perceived that Callisto, after her amour with Jupiter, and the birth of Arcas, could no longer be connected with Artemis ; nay, that the chaste goddess, on discovering her guilt, must even have put her to death, or transformed her.

So much for the striving after uniformity and internal agreement so prevalent among the poets. It is very easy to discover the rule of method resulting from this observation. Every scientific process which aims at undoing alterations in any object, must pursue a course directly opposed to that by which such alterations were produced. Applied to the case in hand, if it is in the main certain that local traditions were altered by means of general notions prevailing in poetry, I shall, in treating of them, should any traces of other ideas come into view, most carefully give heed to the latter, and ac-

<sup>1</sup> P. 75.<sup>2</sup> P. 15.

cord them a higher rank than the former, as being older and original : for they certainly could not spring up, after the others had become general and predominant.

Secondly, With regard to mythi handled by the ancient HISTORIANS, I must begin by contradicting a widespread prejudice. Ordinary historians, often otherwise not uncritical inquirers, are quite rejoiced when they find in Herodotus, or even Thucydides, an express notice regarding the destinies of a tribe in the olden time, and enter it, accordingly, in their works as pure fact. If, on the contrary, they meet in Pausanias a mythic intimation on the same subject, they shrug their shoulders at the childish fable, and imagine that no grave author should meddle with it at all. But quite the reverse : the historical statement is then *the result* ; the legend, although it did not happen to be handed down till afterwards, is commonly *the source*. Herodotus and his successors possessed, as was remarked above, no peculiar memorials regarding those early ages. They had none to apply to but such as were mythic, partly derived from tradition, and partly from poetical elaboration. Even now a judgment can very often be formed as to the way in which they made use of these. I select an example from the Dorians,<sup>1</sup> just because it has of late been senselessly assailed. Herodotus says,<sup>2</sup> that “from an early period, the Dorians and Ionians were the chief races of the nation, and distinct from each other ; the latter of Pelasgic, the former of Hellenic origin ; the latter an aboriginal, the former a very migratory people : for under Deucalion’s sway, they

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> I. 56.

dwelt in Phthiotis, and under Dorus, the son of Hellen, in the country skirting Ossa and Olympus, which is called Hestiazotis." It is perfectly clear that Herodotus employs the genealogy of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, and father of Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus, which has been already adduced and unfolded,<sup>1</sup> as if it were an historical truth, although it is, at all events, more recent than the *Iliad*; and that he tries, at the same time, to establish the position that the Dorians are pure Hellenes. As Deucalion, the father of Hellen, dwelt, according to the mythi, in Phthiotis,<sup>2</sup> the Dorians must, in his opinion, have also come from thence, although this is only stated in the mythi of the primitive Hellenes proper, the Myrmidons; further, Dorus must have succeeded Hellen in the sovereignty, and as the name of the former was connected in the mythi with Hestiazotis, he must have led the people across from that place to Phthiotis. But the historian could not proceed in a similar manner with Xuthus, because he had, in another way, come to the conviction that the Ionians were not Hellenes, but Pelasgi. He, therefore, merely makes this son of Hellen come to the Pelasgi, and makes them adopt a new name, taken from that of Ion, his son, and their general.<sup>3</sup> His notion with regard to Æolus seems to have been precisely the same.<sup>4</sup> Dorus, on the contrary, continues to preside over the real Hellenic race. He is successor in the kingdom, whereas his brothers search elsewhere for dominions to themselves. The modern mythologist must, of course, reject as erro-

<sup>1</sup> P. 119.<sup>3</sup> VII. 94. 95; viii. 44.<sup>2</sup> Apollod., i. 7. 2.<sup>4</sup> VII. 95.

neous all these deductions of Herodotus. He can avail himself of nothing farther than the elements of the inquiry, that is—when stripped of what does not belong to it—the following position, viz., Dorus is said, in ancient tradition, to have dwelt at Hestîæotis, near Olympus and Ossa. This process of selecting what is available to the investigation, is by no means arbitrary. If we penetrate, in this and other ways, into the spirit of their treatment, we shall even be enabled to derive instruction from the pragmatic historian and philosophical interpreter; and thus obtain compensation for the want of other and better sources of mythi. For both doubtless wished, if they were otherwise honest men, to found their representation and elucidation on the mythi themselves; and considered their additions as nothing more than conclusions drawn from the legends which had been handed down. Where Ephorus pragmatizes most, it can be seen, however, that nothing further is his than the concatenation of the mythic traditions, and the mode of understanding them; as in the story of Apollo's going from Athens to Delphi, and killing Tityus and the tyrant Python, surnamed "the Dragon."<sup>1</sup> All these actions, and *even the path of the god*, were ancient legends,<sup>2</sup> only Ephorus adopts them implicitly, as regular history, and regards whatever is at variance with them as poetic form.

Nothing, however, but the most special investigation can completely unfold the laws that regulate this *process by which the representation is separated from its materials*, and a no less circumstantial history of poetry in general, as well as of such other

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, ix. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Dor., vol. i. pp. 269, 335.



works as were in any way employed on mythic subjects, would be required. And it still remains to be observed, that the task of criticising sources can *never by itself* be complete; that in numberless cases it can merely give a conjectural answer to the question, whether some particular thing belong to the representation or to the materials; while much even of that which *may* be poetical ornament, turns out, on a more careful examination, to be ancient mythus—genuine tradition. The critical tendency, therefore, must be everywhere directly met by another, whose aim it is to conceive and understand the legend in its true import.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### *How to resolve the Mythic Materials into their Original Elements.*

WE go back to the general law, that in order to reduce the mythus to its original form, we must always *subject it to a treatment the converse of that which it received from the ancients*. Now, it is a thing quite unquestionable, that during antiquity, the tendency prevailed to unite traditions, for the purpose of forming them into connected wholes. We have, therefore, first of all, *to dissolve and destroy this connexion*.

What a number and variety of legends, far from

akin to each other at their origin, were embodied by the epic poets in Heracleas, Argonautics, and *Néstoris*! How prose, as well as poetical writers, strove to introduce order and continuity into the deeds and adventures of heroes, and the logographers to bring the traditions of a district into agreement and mutual dependence! But if we bear in mind, that previous to that poetry which has been preserved by literary records, there flourished another whose existence can now be ascertained by little else than a process of reasoning, and that the latter aimed still more strenuously at the union and combination of different materials,—the task we have to perform will be so much the more distinctly appreciated.

How important here is this single point, that the muses of Homer and Hesiod receive their name from the same Olympus on which all the superior deities are in these poets said to dwell; and that these gods, descending from the sacred mount, generally turned their first steps into the immediately-adjacent district of Pieria, the same from which all the poesy of the Greeks emanated!<sup>1</sup> I think this fact might instruct us, that we are indebted to the muse-inspired Pierians for the union of the Olympian gods. These Pierians, although called Thracians, and therefore often held to be branches of one and the same nation with all the tribes lying behind them, must necessarily be regarded as Greeks: for, if they were aliens, such an influence on the entire cultivation of the Grecian people would have been impossible. Afterwards, indeed, having been expelled by the Macedonian

<sup>1</sup> Orhom., pp. 381, 385.

kings, and fled for refuge towards mount Pangæum,<sup>1</sup> they became, by degrees, utterly lost among the barbarian tribes. But it was through their poetic strains, during the era of their intellectual refinement, that the Olympian mount became the seat and court of the supreme god, around whom they assembled into one great family as many of the other gods as came within the sphere of their knowledge; not, perhaps, by means of *arbitrary* fiction and invention, which were everywhere foreign to those ages, but by acting on their own notions and belief, and uniting and blending with them materials elsewhere derived; but which, from the susceptibility of antiquity for the mythus, must have *also* been received as truth and reality.

But further, not merely poetry, including that ancient dynasty of bards, but *popular tradition* itself, always followed the same tendency to join together whatever admitted of union. The ancient Grecian people adopted traditions with the utmost readiness, nay, with the most eager and willing faith and confidence,—a circumstance which, taken together with the facility of creating mythi, brings us back to that unconsciousness and absence of design which has been remarked above.<sup>2</sup> Neighbouring localities mutually exchanged their mythi; new settlers engrafted the traditions of their own tribe on those which already existed in the country; rumours from a-far were received into the long-established legendary circle. All this could not be otherwise; and numberless examples teach us that it was so.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herod., vii. 112. Thuc., ii. 99.

<sup>2</sup> P. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Canne's valuable remarks in his *Mythology of the Greeks*, Intro., p. 41-46.

Stories had doubtless been current in many cities and regions of Greece about the advent of Bacchus, and the tumult and intoxication with which the god had filled the minds of men, before these traditions were united into a whole, or the story of his expedition was devised, which was gradually made to advance eastwards until at length it extended to India.

Separation, therefore, is one main business of the mythologist; by means of which we continually discover how easily materials, of originally the most different kinds, when once they became reconciled and modified by the mythic form, could be brought into conjunction, and regarded as a whole. This is more especially the case in genealogies, which we can seldom follow for any length without being led into widely different spheres of the Real and the Imaginary. And here, too, we must guard against the error, by no means rare in its occurrence, of assuming the highest links in such a genealogy to be invariably the oldest portions of the mythus, as if it were always formed from above downwards. These highest links are often precisely those which were added last, after every place had been filled up with names, among the families to which the mythus properly belonged.<sup>1</sup> Let us examine, for example, the Elean genealogy, as it is given by Pausanias, Apollodorus, and Conon.<sup>2</sup> Aëthlius the son of Zeus and Protogenia, the daughter of Deucalion, is said to have been the first who reigned at Elis. His son, who was beloved of Selene, and to whom she bore fifty daughters, was called Endymion. He had three

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Welcker's Note on Schwenk, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., v. 1, 2. Apoll., i. 7. 5. Con., 14.

sons, Epeus, Pæon, and Ætolus, the first of whom obtained the kingdom, because he had been victorious at the Olympic games. Pæon, filled with chagrin at this, retired to the river Axius, in the direction of the later Macedonia. Ætolus was also obliged to become a wanderer, because he slew Apis, and was pursued by the sons of the latter. Now, when Epeus died childless, he was succeeded by Eleus, son of Eurycyde, the daughter of Endymion, and father of Augeas, who had the treasury and the great herds of cattle. Of all the persons here named, the first is the most allegorical, although he had even been already mentioned by Hesiod:<sup>1</sup> for it is evident that Aëthlius the son of Zeus is nothing else than a personification of the *Διὸς ἄεθλα*, the games of Olympian Zeus,<sup>2</sup> which, however, were not of much weight or importance until revived by Iphitus, although even the *Iliad* contains some indication of their commencement.<sup>3</sup> Aëthlius is called the son of Protonia,—the new-born race of mankind after Deucalion's flood, (subsequent to which Aëthlius is said to have restored the games.)<sup>4</sup> From this Protonia, the Locrians and Epeans, both Lelegic races, traced their descent.<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, the immortal Endymion, (according to Hesiod *ἢν αὐτῷ ταμίης Σελήνης*,) the lover of Selene, who had a secret sanctuary on Latmos,<sup>6</sup> the Carian mount, manifestly belongs to an early, and therefore very obscure worship, which I claim for the ancient Leleges; for Pedasa,

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Apol., iv. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Böckh, *Explic. Pind.*, O. iii. p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> XI. 699.

<sup>5</sup> Böckh, O. ix. p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> Etymol. M. *ἀεθλῆσαι*.

<sup>6</sup> Paus., v. 1, 4.

and a number of other places encompassing Latmos, were, at a remote period, habitations of that people.<sup>1</sup> The ancient Epei, also, as has just been remarked, were Leleges; and among them, indeed, by the addition and preponderance of the prevailing worships of the Greeks, Endymion must have lost much of his ancient dignity, and descended from his god-head to the rank of a hero. At Elis, he was said to have had fifty children by Selene; doubtless, as Böckh remarks,<sup>2</sup> the fifty lunar months of which the Olympic cycle consisted. The two sons of Endymion, Epeus and Ætolus, express the ancient affinity of the two races, which is frequently mentioned in mythi: but, as the Eleans viewed *their* land as the common home of both, the Ætolian must have fled from thence, in order that he might, when he afterwards returned with the Dorian expedition, resume the possession of his patrimonial inheritance. The reason assigned, was his flight from the avenger of blood,—an event which constantly recurs in epic mythology. But the person slain is no other than the Peloponnesus personified, Apis, whose father was said by the Argives to have been Phoroneus, the first man,<sup>3</sup> but, by the Arcadians, their ancient dæmon, Iasion.<sup>4</sup> It would be tedious to inquire (and besides, it is not here necessary) how the Pæonians could be esteemed a kindred race to the above two. If we cast a retrospective glance on the analysis just given, we shall perceive that three very different things are united in this genealogy, viz.:—an almost

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiii. 611.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Paus., i. 2, 6. Comp. Dion. Hal., i. 61.

allegorical personage, deities from the general creed, and personified tribes. To these are also added the mythus of Augeas. He was brought into connexion with the rest for this reason merely, that in place of \**Ἥλιος*, the sun-god, whom the poets, in accordance with ancient tradition, called the father of the hero, historical adapters substituted a \**Ἥλειος*; but \**Ἥλις*, the country itself, or even \**Ἥλειος*, was the name given by the genealogical legend to the son of Eurycyde; and in this way was Augeas linked to that genealogy.<sup>1</sup>

"But," it will be said, "what can be the result of all this procedure? The living concrete mythus is by this means resolved into its primary elements, as an organized body is decomposed into atoms; but, instead of discovering and exhibiting coherence, as every scientific inquiry ought to do, you come back to numberless unconnected and insulated incipient points. This may well be called an *atomical* process, for it destroys the life of the mythus." To this objection, something like the following replies might be given.

First. Even that connexion which only arose by degrees, ought not to be rejected, in the historical treatment of the mythus, as a thing of no significance and perfectly indifferent to the science. The more mythology is cultivated, the smaller must the traditional matter become which cannot, in it even, be rendered fruitful and instructive by proper application. The manner in which mythi were modified,

<sup>1</sup> ΕΥΡΥΚΥΔΗ in Paus. Comp. Stra., viii. 346<sup>c</sup>; and ΕΥΡΥΠΙΤΑΗ in the Schol. Ven. Il. 1, 367, the Etymol. M. 426, 29, and Conon *ib.* is a very old reading.

strung together, and constantly combined into new wholes, by authors and even by popular tradition, is as much entitled to demand our attention as their first beginnings and the causes of their origin. Nay, in these very changes and modifications, which mythi experienced at various times, there are to be found most copious materials for the history of the religious and intellectual cultivation of the Greeks.

Secondly. But it is the beginnings into which it is here our especial business to inquire; and the knowledge of which can alone give a correct solution as to the manner of that gradual transformation. They cannot possibly have stood in the connexion which was unfolded by degrees, and must be extricated from it as far as is practicable. But this is by no means saying that a connexion may not result, even for them, at the close of the investigation; and perhaps one more simple and beautiful may be found in them than that which arose by progressive development.

Thirdly. But this analytical process should not on any account be so regarded, as if the great object were to resolve the mythus into its smallest possible constituent parts. An arbitrary separation of this nature, pursued to its utmost extent, would even dissever those elements which were united from the very first. It is plain that the resolution of the mythus cannot well take place unless assisted by a right understanding of it, and unless three points are determined in order to its complete interpretation, viz., Where did this or that particular mythus arise? By means of what persons? and, In relation to what subject was it formed?

With regard to the first point, it is evident that



every mythus must have originated in some place or other. Even though soon after its appearance it obtained general belief and became widely diffused, it must have been uttered somewhere for the first time. The ascertainment of this *where*, the *localization* of the mythus, is of course an essential matter in the business of separating those elements which originally belonged to each other, from those which became afterwards united. In most cases it is not difficult, as the mythus itself furnishes an answer to our inquiries. We have only to ask, Whom does it more immediately concern? Those who dwell in any region speak of their ancient native heroes. The founders of any place are, as such, celebrated in the legends of that place. Hills, and streams, and fountains, become mythic personages to those who dwell beside them, and feel the peculiar influences of these objects. In this way, the home of nine-tenths of the Grecian traditions may be gathered from themselves; but we must not take *every* notice of a country in any mythus for a proof that the legend was formed there. These countries, too, are often purely ideal; for as the ancient Greeks invented a history of the world which reached back to the first beginning of things,—so they also devised a geography, in which ideas and notions that had nothing corresponding to them in actual experience, found a definite place.<sup>1</sup> Many of these ideas were gradually connected with real objects,—imaginary races of men with existing nations, as appears to have been the case with the Æthiopians, who long figured in poetry as neighbours of the sun, before the Greeks became histori-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Völcker's *Myth. of the Japet.*, p. 58.

cally acquainted with black men. Now, it would be quite absurd to regard the mythus of *such a people as belonging to themselves*, and in this sense to speak of a Hyperborean mythus. The fundamental idea of this mythus is that of a pure and sacred people devoted to the service of Apollo, and living in the farthest north, but yet under a mild and serene sky; for the north wind only begins on this side of them, rushing forth from dark mountain caverns nearer the south: it could not, therefore, have arisen from a knowledge, however slight, of the earth's surface.<sup>1</sup> It is a mere idea. It had its local habitation, this much we can discover, at several Apollinian sanctuaries: at Delphi, whither the god was said to have come from the Hyperboreans; at Delos, where there were many things told of gifts from that people; at Olympia, where the worship of Apollo was also established: and from these circumstances alone it is evident that it sprang from this worship, and must find its explanation in the history and spiritual constitution thereof. The decision is more difficult when the foreign and distant lands, which are spoken of in the mythus, really existed, and were known to the Greeks at the time of its development, although they might be materially disguised in the tradition. For in this case two things might happen. First, An Hellenic legend may, by the gradual enlargement of its circle, have been brought into relation to a certain country, or transferred to it, as was done, I think, with the Argonautic expedition to Colchis, and the abode of the Gorgons in Libya—legends which were far from being native products on the banks of the Phasis or at Mount

<sup>1</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 294.

Atlas. The mythus may also have had its first foundation in an acquaintance with the distant country, whether it was that accounts of its features, its inhabitants, and its gods, assumed the mythic form, or that mythi, already in existence there, came to the ears of the Greeks, and were received into their legendary sphere. Even both—the reference of a Grecian legend to a foreign country, and the adoption of a foreign legend—may be imagined in combination; in such a way, namely, as that the expansion of a Greek mythus was met by a native barbarian legend. The expedition of Dionysus, for instance, had its extreme limit fixed in India, merely for this reason, that the army of Alexander found there a god called Mahadewa, who was worshipped with similar orgies. Now, it cannot in general be determined beforehand which supposition is the correct one in a particular case. It is necessary to inquire, on the one hand, what portion of the mythus actually existed in the barbarian country—belonged to the tradition of the natives; and on the other, whether the roots of the mythus are not to be found somewhere in Greece itself.

Much error may be occasioned by the extraordinary expression, “earliest mythology without locality,” which prevails in a mythological work now little heard of, and by which the theogonic and cosmogonic legends were intended to be more especially denoted. First, there is, properly speaking, no mythus without a locality: for it must surely have had its origin somewhere, although its contents themselves seldom betray it. But much of it, as can be shown, was local tradition, especially at ancient

sanctuaries. Other portions were composed and added by the most ancient, particularly the Pierian, bards.<sup>1</sup> But it is on no account to be conceded, that these mythi can be called the oldest in any other sense than this, that they treat of the earliest ages; at least, the circumstance of their now standing at the head of the system does not afford the slightest proof of their superior antiquity; and the ancient native legends of Argos, Athens, and Bœotia, from the fact of their signification being so obscure, and their contents so various, ought in general to have the preference accorded, in conformity with the principle laid down above.<sup>2</sup>

So much with regard to the *Where*. If this is clearly brought out in one case, we may proceed to the next question which requires decision: *By Whom* was the mythus originally formed? It was not always by the historically-known inhabitants of a district, but frequently by an earlier population who were expelled by succeeding tribes, yet not so entirely but that some scattered remnants were left, by means of which the mythus continued to exist. How many Bœotian mythi belong to the ancient Thracians, Cadmeans, and Minyans! how many Attic traditions to the ante-Ionic Pelasgians! and are not most of the Peloponnesian legends ante-Doric, and almost all those of Thessaly derived from other races than the Thessalians, who migrated thither from Thesprotia? A separation may be often effected, as in Athens for example, the ancient traditions of the Erechthidæ can be distinguished from those of the Ionians.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Appendix on Hesiod.

<sup>2</sup> P. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Minervæ Poliad.*, c. 1. Dor., vol. i. p. 265.

But this must not be supposed to be a simple and easy matter. As tradition is a thing that lives, and receives growth, development, and renovation, in the mouths of those by whom it is handed down, the legends and ideas of the new inhabitants must have been united with those of the earlier race, and the latter variously altered and remodelled to suit the character of the former. It may, therefore, be supposed, that the original spirit and tone of the more ancient legends will be only preserved in isolated traces. The more strange and enigmatical these appear, the more anxiously should we turn them to account. Many legends, too, seem to have been formed and propagated merely by individual families, whose history is naturally more obscure and perplexed than that of entire races; and yet upon it everything here depends. How much, for example, was introduced into the Spartan mythology by the family of the Ægidæ;<sup>1</sup> and but for the Euphemidæ, the royal family of Cyrene, *the Argonauts in all probability would never have sailed round Libya*. For it was merely in the circumstance, that their ancestor Euphemus must needs take possession of Cyrene,<sup>2</sup> that the constraining cause resided why the Argo should be transported over the back of Libya.

We come to the third point, which must be attended to in order to separate what was originally connected from what became gradually united; although it does not, indeed, come under consideration in such a general way as the two we have already discussed. But it can be asserted with confidence, of a great

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Orch., p. 327. Dor., vol. i. p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 83.

number of legends, that they refer to a definite existing object, and were formed expressly for it. One mythus relates to some old usage, another to an ancient regulation of public life, a third to the festival of a god, and its usual attendant representations. They all aim at accounting for the origin of these things still existing. The mythology of the Greeks everywhere exhibits traces of this *striving at explanation*. This itself must have given birth to mythi; for it was the spirit of the age to clothe even opinions in the form of a narrative of actual occurrences: and hence it is that those who cannot distinguish between mythi and history must frequently regard a custom or usage as a consequence of some mythic event, although the latter in fact sprang from the former.<sup>1</sup> But it is to be understood that the correctness of such mythic explanations must be tested, and is not on any account to be pre-supposed. It can be often distinctly seen that they are based upon no real tradition whatever; nay, many mythi contain notions which could not have arisen and prevailed until the subjects to which they relate were no longer understood in their true import. To this class belong, in particular, the *false etymologies* which abound in mythi; for the Greeks as well as the Hebrews applied themselves, at a very early period, to the derivation of words in their own language; but as they wanted other tongues with which to compare their own, as well as the capacity for philosophical reflection, and altogether did not possess the faculty of entering into circumstances which were either foreign to them or had become so, their attempts were but

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Canne's Myth. Intro., p. 46 sqq.

seldom successful. Thus, every one now will, we think, admit that the derivations commonly received among the ancients of Πύθιον from "corruption," and Ἀπατούρεια from "deceit," are erroneous; although there is interwoven with the latter a genuine tradition regarding a boundary war between the Athenians and Bœotians, which could not have originated in the verbal explanation. As in this example, so it is throughout an essential point—not merely in etymological, but in explanatory legends altogether—to separate, as far as possible, what was introduced for the purpose of explanation, from those portions which are of traditionary origin. In general it will be found that the derivation of the name is only engrafted on an earlier mythus. The mythic event hovered before the mind of him who reflected on the name, or even carried on merely a significant play with the sound; and the sound itself forthwith received a place in the mythus. The name of the Ionic city Teos has been derived in a childish manner from the adverb τέως, "so long,"<sup>1</sup> and a history of the founder Athamas connected therewith. But this history assuredly cannot have been invented for the sake of that etymology; for Teos was certainly peopled by Minyans, and Athamas was one of the heroes of that tribe.<sup>2</sup> The name of the Cilician city Tarsus has, among others, been referred to the sole of Perseus' foot, (ταρσός,) from which the talaria are said to have here fallen.<sup>3</sup> This is surely absurd; for no one will call a city "sole of the foot" because something was there lost from it by some one: and

<sup>1</sup> Pherecyd., 40. p. 160 St.

<sup>2</sup> Orch., 399.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Juvenal., iii. 117. Comp. Steph. B. Τάρσος.

it might be supposed that Perseus was called the founder of Tarsus merely to suit this etymological conceit.<sup>1</sup> This, however, was certainly not the case; on the contrary, all the ancient Argive fables relating to Perseus, as well as to the wanderings of Io; and even the worship of the former were naturalized at Tarsus.<sup>2</sup> The Argive Hercules, too, was honoured there, as Archegus, with the burning of a funeral pile;<sup>3</sup> and there can be no doubt that all these legends were brought to Cilicia by an Argive colony, established through the agency of the Rhodians.<sup>4</sup> It is obvious that here the etymology was merely engrafted on the already existing fable, and may be as new and late of invention as the latter was old and genuine; a remark which also applies to the etymological fables of Mycenæ. In all such cases it is necessary to inquire how far the influence of the etymology extends—what is fabled for its sake, and what is independent of it. What depends entirely on the derivation must of course stand or fall with it. From all this it is obvious how much stress ought, in resolving the mythus into its original elements, to be laid on the determination of this point, viz., in reference to what was each formed? Now, if we follow the chain of a mythus, in many cases we shall soon observe that—*here* it carries us away to another district,—that *this* narration must have originated with other races and families,—that *now* it relates to other really existing objects; and we shall have no hesita-

<sup>1</sup> Lucan, *Pharsal.*, iii. 225. Solin., 38. Ammian. M., xiv. 8. Raoul-Roch., *Hist. de l'établ.*, vol. ii. p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> See, particularly, Dio. Chrysost., *Or.* 33. Comp. Eckhel, *Num. Anecd.*, p. 80. Völcker, *Myth. of the Japet.*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 130.



tation in keeping separate those things to which different occasions gave rise, provided further investigation does not indicate a higher unity.

But in considering the third point, our attention has been also called to the importance of becoming acquainted with those existing objects, not mythic in their nature, with which the mythus is connected. These were doubtless various and manifold; but it was the religious worship of the Greeks which became, above all others, the favourite theme of mythology. The service of the gods was, in truth, a matter of real and substantial existence; the religious observances of the Greeks, their sacred places, their priesthoods, their festivals, are known to us from contemporary notices and descriptions; we have, comparatively speaking, a very comprehensive and complete knowledge of their state at that time, if not of their origin; and it is obvious that this knowledge must, in a thousand places, render assistance to mythological investigation, and direct it into the right channel. Add to this, that these very references to the service of the gods, as has been shown above by various examples,<sup>1</sup> become extremely faint in the narrations of the poets; for they repeated the mythus as a pleasant and ingenious story, without giving themselves any concern about its strictly radical ingredients. When we read now, for instance, in Apollodorus, that Athamas had two wives, the second of whom plotted the destruction of the other's children; and that when the Delphian god was consulted on 'account of a famine, which she herself had caused by parching the seed-corn, she

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 14 sq., 49, 74 sq., 78.

obtained, by artifice, the oracular response, that one of them must be offered up as a sacrifice, from which fate, however, they escaped in a miraculous manner; everything seems to be accounted for and linked together with sufficient probability for a tale of romance, in which it is not requisite that events should take place in the natural course, and the reader desires nothing further. But as to the subject or Whereof? which likewise involves the Wherefore? of the formation of the mythus, scarcely a single vestige has been left him in its poetical elaboration. This at once becomes evident when he learns that there was an ancient worship of Zeus in the land of the Minyans, which required human sacrifices, and that, too, from none other than the sacerdotal race of Athamas; and when he has taken into consideration the great variety of legends which turn upon this sacrificial observance, he will also perceive that the whole mythus sprang from the worship, and not the worship from the mythus.<sup>1</sup> From all this, it seems to me there can scarcely be any doubt, that *the history of the worships of the Grecian gods is the auxiliary science* of most importance to mythology, and cannot well be disjoined from it, in treating of the latter, although it is itself only partially rooted in mythic soil. It must, therefore, form part of our task to exhibit a distinct view of that subject also, without, however, bestowing an equally minute attention on every point; because, after all, the history of the religion is merely subsidiary. I have only to remark, that the correctness of the mythological method hitherto developed, stands quite independent

<sup>1</sup> Orch., p. 161 sqq.

of the correctness of the views to be here laid down at the outset, inasmuch as the mythus generally presupposes the existence of a belief in the gods, and its interpretation is but little affected by the question how this belief originally came into existence.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### *Auxiliary and Adminicular Propositions on the Religion and Symbolism of the Greeks.*

1. I consider it impossible that that all-comprehending and pervading belief in the divine Essence, which we find in the earliest times among the Greeks, as well as other nations, can be deduced, in a convincing manner, from sensible impressions, and conclusions built thereon; and I am of opinion, that the historian must here rest satisfied with pre-supposing that the assumption of a hyperphysical living world and nature, which lay at the bottom of every phenomenon, was natural and necessary to the mind of man, richly endowed by nature.

2. In ancient times this belief was a living principle, which existed in constant mutual relationship with the other activities of the human mind, and hence it became as personal and individual as those by whom it was cherished. Its particular form, therefore, has its foundation in the particular nature and circumstances of individual nations and tribes.

3. To suppose an original communication of the first rudiments of faith is inadmissible, for this reason,—that without faith, even a susceptibility for it cannot be imagined, especially at a time when the Spiritual was only made manifest by sensible images; and because, moreover, we have no ground whatever for assuming, that belief in the gods was only the growth of some one particular spot. Besides, it must be taken into account, that cultivation in early antiquity was generally much more confined within the boundaries of a nation, or even smaller communities, than it was in later times.

4. To explain, therefore, why a particular form of belief is found among a people of peculiar civilisation is, in fact, nothing else than to show upon what foundation the entire spiritual constitution of that people rests. For, were any one to think of deducing that form merely from the conditions and influences of external nature, he would assume the human mind to be, what it certainly is not, something quite indeterminate in itself, and merely passive. But how it was that determination and direction were at first imparted to the minds of nations, is a problem which, if it come at all within the province of philosophical history, does not certainly belong to any individual branch of it. It must be the inquirer's chief business, in the first place, to make himself acquainted with individual modes of faith and worship, in their precise nature, their peculiar and internal essence.

5. Now, we find a greater number of such peculiar modes in ancient Greece than in any other country. We find there a greater variety than anywhere else,

not merely of the external forms of worship, but also of the thoughts and feelings,—or whatsoever name we choose to give to the emotions excited by a particular faith,—which find utterance in those forms, and in the legends of the gods. If we call to mind the riotous delight and soul-intoxicating revelry which marked the worship of Bacchus, the deep melancholy and sombre awe by which that of Demeter was characterized, and the serene, joyful, and energetic feelings to which the service of Apollo gave birth, we shall have but a few of the most interesting contrasts presented to our view.

6. All these different modes of worship were, in later times, in some measure united, and that, too, not merely in the treatment of poets and artists, but also in the religious belief, and the service of the temples throughout the different cities of Greece; and there was, perhaps, no state of any consequence which did not worship all the chief deities, although many of them, doubtless, received but scanty honours.

7. It cannot be conceived that these kinds of worship, differing so widely in their essence and character, should have simultaneously arisen among the same tribes, for this reason, that it would require different individualities to produce them. It might indeed be said that they sprang from the same minds in different moods, as they certainly continued to give birth to different moods in the same minds. But sometimes the relation in which they actually stand is that of resistance, exclusion, nay, almost hostility towards each other, which must have been the case to a still greater extent in earlier times, when they operated much more powerfully upon the mind.

8. Neither can we well suppose the Grecian worships to have belonged, as those of India appear to have done, to different periods of religious civilisation, for we very rarely observe a transition from one to another, or a change of one into another; on the contrary, they are all seen to continue in simultaneous existence. Altogether, there cannot, perhaps, be found a single authenticated instance of any considerable worship having disappeared in the palmy days of heathendom, before the races and families by which it was observed had died out.

9. This great diversity in the Grecian worships agrees, on the other hand, in a remarkable manner, with another fact equally undeniable, viz., the early partition and subdivision of the nation into countless individual tribes, which circumstance, again, doubtless bore some relation to the physical condition of the country. If, with this, we also connect the numerous migrations and expeditions of these tribes, and their promiscuous habitation of one and the same country with other, though kindred nations, Thracians, Carians, and Phrygians, we shall find sufficient grounds for the co-existence of so many different kinds of worship, particularly if we contrast the people of Israel with the Greeks, as an instance of opposite circumstances producing an opposite result. The religion of that nation was, indeed, more simple and systematic; but it was only through their separation from, and exclusion of, all foreign nations, that it continued to exist for thousands of years.

10. If a general view of the subject shows this result, the proofs are supplied by every separate investigation into the history of the religious worship

of the Greeks. Every deity had his favourite districts, in which he was even usually said to have been born; the ancient legends peculiar to such a region, spoke of *him* in an especial manner. With respect to *other* deities, particularly Dionysus, it was stated that they made their appearance and penetrated into the country at some specified time; and if we collect all the intimations and allusions by which one sanctuary revealed its descent from another, we shall discover, however faint and obscure the mythic traces may be, that, for example, the service of Apollo was invariably derived from the north of Thessaly, the *Ὀργια* of Dionysus from Bœotian Thrace, all the sanctuaries of Hera from Argos, and the worship of Poseidon probably altogether from the shores of the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs. We must not, however, in every instance, presuppose, nor indulge confident hopes of discovering, such a local unity of origin; as the name of the deity may be very general in its significance, or heterogeneous elements may be comprehended in it from its origin. A judgment in single cases must be grounded on evidence alone.

11. It is manifest from all this, that the Homeric Olympus, and the artistic world of gods, in which every tendency of the human mind, every activity and every talent, found its ideal representation, was not the original form of Grecian worship, but was created by a gradual process of union; for, in the first place, every city gathered into a cycle the gods whom the tribes inhabiting it had introduced. Thus Amphictyon, who united the inhabitants of Attica into one people, is said to have also invited the gods

to be his guests ;<sup>1</sup> secondly, the Greek nations, from a natural desire to conciliate the favour of gods elsewhere adored, and therefore, of course, believed in, reared temples to *them* also : a disposition and practice which were much encouraged by the national sanctuaries, such as Delphi ; and, lastly, the poets, especially those ancient bards of Pieria,<sup>2</sup> always brought into more perfect harmony the occasional stray or struggling members of the divine confederation, and defined and established the poetical characters of individuals, according to the requirements of the whole, as well as in conformity with the ancient local creed.

12. But we must not, on any account, imagine that this Homeric cycle of gods contained a *complete* union of all the accredited deities : for the ancient bard, doubtless, took his stand at some particular spot in Greece, and assembled what appeared to possess weight or significance, as seen from that point of view. Had the Arcadians arranged this group of divinities, we should scarcely have found Artemis represented to be the sister of Apollo ;<sup>3</sup> we should rather have found a Despœna ; and probably the Phigalian Eurynome, as well as the Phliasian Gany-mede, would also have found a place.

13. When we take this, and several other circumstances into consideration, the multiplicity and diversity of the Grecian local worships continue visibly to increase. I have already hinted,<sup>4</sup> that the same name, in the regular system of Greek divinities, frequently denotes several kinds of worship widely dif-

<sup>1</sup> *Min. Pol.*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Comp. Dor.*, vol. i. p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> § 10.



ferent in their nature ; and it is easy to perceive that the Zeus, who was worshipped in Crete with a subdued orgiastic and mystic ceremonies, was originally different from the Zeus of the Homeric Hellenians and Achæians ; and wherefore ought not ideas of even the most diversified character to be comprehended in a name of so general a signification as *Zeûs*, *Δεὺς*, *deus* ?<sup>1</sup> Other gods were gradually thrust down into the sphere of subordinated dæmons or heroes ; often merely in general mythology, but often also in local traditions. Thus Pausanias heard in Argolis, that Phoroneus the Argive had a son and daughter called Clymenus and Chthonia, and that the latter built a temple to the goddess Demeter at Hermione ;<sup>2</sup> but here it is perfectly established, even by inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> that Chthonia was Demeter herself, and Clymenus Hades. The latter name, indeed, is frequently to be met with standing in the same relation. Pherecydes, for instance, calls a daughter of Minyas, Persephone,<sup>4</sup> whilst the Minyades are elsewhere almost always called Clymene, Eteoclymene, and Periclymene.

14. This multiplicity and diversity, however, are perfectly compatible with a certain original simplicity of local worship. For the more we return to the earliest and oldest ideas, the more do we find that every worship, which has a history of its own, originally expressed the religious feeling with a certain degree of generality, and was, in many respects, sufficient for the tribe by which it was practised. But the particular character and individual occupation of the tribe, speedily gave it a peculiar direction,

<sup>1</sup> Dor., vol. ii. p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., ii. p. 35. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 414.

<sup>4</sup> P. 119, St.

in which it came at length into poetry, after having undergone numerous modifications. The worship, therefore, was not based on physical or ethical dogmas, or on insulated philosophemes on the world and deity, but rather on that general feeling of the Divine. The powers of nature were not exalted to *θεοὶ*, but the *θεοὶ* of the established faith were revealed alive in nature; neither, perhaps, were individual talents and dexterities deified; but the already existing gods, active themselves, presided with protecting care over the activities of their worshippers. We cannot here enter into any further investigation; but this view is supported even by their names, which are chiefly of the most general signification. Beside the Argive Zeus was placed *Ἥρα*, probably the ancient feminine of *ἦρως*, a *hera*, or heroine. *Δέσποινα*, "sovereign lady," was the title given by the Arcadian to his goddess of Lycosura, who was worshipped with reverential awe. "The Athenian virgin" (*Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη*) was the entire name of Athena, just as Persephone was called the Eleusinian virgin, (*Κόρη*.) To these, predicates perhaps were next linked, expressive of the people's love, and the pride they felt in their deity. Ancient Greece, indeed, was exceedingly rich in appellations of endearment to its Madonnas. Thus, the bride that the Naxian worship assigned to Dionysus, was simply called *Ἀριάδνη* "the well-pleasing;" the Arcadian called his ancient tutelary goddess *Καλλίστα*, "the most beautiful;" the Phliasian had his *Γανυμήδη*, "the heart-gladdening;" and the Cretan his *Βριτόμαρτις*, or "sweet maiden," &c.<sup>1</sup> Or the deity even received his name from the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Welcker on Schwenk, p. 343.

character of his worship; as the god of Nysa was called Bacchus, from the festal frenzy of the Bacchi, and the Eleusinian Iacchus, otherwise unnamed, was so denominated from the shouts which resounded at his sacred procession.

15. But it does not by any means follow, from these remarks, that there was a monotheism, properly speaking, in the ancient worship of Greece. Indeed, with the notions regarding the external world which lay at the foundation of that worship, monotheism would be scarcely possible; as it always presupposes a certain abstraction, a removal and withdrawal of the religious feelings from nature. The ancient Greeks, who saw traces of deity throughout all forms of life in the visible world, as well as in every significant manifestation of the Spiritual, and constantly observed a meeting of different principles—sometimes conflicting, sometimes in harmony—could scarcely, from feeling and experience, avoid the assumption that there was a plurality of those principles; although, on the other hand, from the natural tendency of every faith, they always strove after concentration and reduction to unity.

16. In fact, *such a unity was a constant aim* with Grecian antiquity. In those worships, which at length grew together into a general creed, the respective deities stood in relation to each other as the members of a body. They formed a whole. The discord between individual members, as in the case of Demeter and Hades, existed only for the purpose of leading to a higher unity. A council of gods afterwards sprang up in popular belief, under a supreme head, who was exalted to real divinity when he

became identified with universal fate. And to the religious feeling, the *Δαίμων* was still left as the unpersonified deity, which lay at the bottom of all personifications.

17. A living and natural faith is, perhaps, from its inherent character, constantly drawn in opposite directions. To the believing mind of early antiquity, deity appeared, on the one hand, so near, so friendly! it sat with the votary at table, attended him in his toils and pleasures, and conversed with him as man speaks to man. But this idea, which prevails in every mythology, must soon have destroyed all religion, if it were not counteracted by another, which kept before the mind of man the infinite difference between his own and that divine nature which he acknowledged and believed in, inspiring him with dark reverence, and a mystical feeling, to express which he was led to choose whatever was most obscure and incomprehensible in himself, as well as the world around him. It is certain, that if most of the Homeric gods received their form in consequence of the one tendency, the other prevailed among the Greeks in the service of Demeter and Dionysus. In a similar way, and somewhat connected therewith, the tendency to individualize, and the endeavour to comprehend the universality of deity, stand at antagonism with each other; and if, by means of the former, the ancient gods of tribes and districts were almost brought down to the level of humanity, so the Divine and Imperishable was vindicated by identification with Destiny.<sup>1</sup>

18. The peculiar effect which these opposite ten-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the Mythological Essay in Solger's posthumous works.

dencies must have produced in the mind of the Greek, is perhaps seen most clearly in Homer's representation of Zeus. The poet has evidently a twofold manner of conceiving this supreme deity. For, on the one hand, the god who gathers the clouds together, who sends lightning and rain, is at the same time the great governor of the world: in the proper sense of the word, God. He is the greatest that dwells in Æther, the father of gods and men: he imposes destiny; his will is fate. All things take place in order that this will may be accomplished.<sup>1</sup> It is the same deity who, according to the transcendantly beautiful and sublime fable in the Theogony,<sup>2</sup> espoused Themis, the moral and physical government of the world, and by her begot the Destinies. Eurynome, likewise, bore to him the Charites, who lend a grace and charm to every form of life. He who does not here recognise religion, genuine, true religion, for him have Moses and the prophets written in vain. But these are only isolated expressions, in which an intense feeling or a customary mode of thinking finds utterance, as in the prayer beginning "O Zeus, highest and greatest in the dark clouds and in Æther!" It is by no means the manner of viewing him which predominates in and peculiarly distinguishes the Homeric poesy. In fact, it could not be so; for such a Zeus, when he interfered in the confusion of human affairs, must have at once solved and settled everything, and, therefore, could not be imagined as a living and active god, and least of all as an epic

<sup>1</sup> See Od., iv. 207; v. 137; ix. 52; xi., 559, &c.

<sup>2</sup> V. 901 sqq.

personage. As such, then, he does not inhabit Æther, but has his palace on Olympus. He is not the father of gods and men, but of a not very widely extended family, to which, as Poseidon maintains,<sup>1</sup> his proper sway is restricted. Besides, he is, like all the other gods, subject to fate; and hence resulted that extraordinary mixture of strength and weakness, wisdom and ignorance, which must strike every one in the Homeric Zeus, and can scarcely be considered as the first glimmer of reflection on the Supreme Being.

19. The worship of a deity peculiar to any tribe was naturally, from the beginning, common to all the members of the tribe; and those who governed the people in the other concerns of life, would also preside over their religious observances—the heads of families in private, and the βασιλεῖς in the community. However, the services of religion were, at all events, especially among the less warlike nations, one of the most important duties of those in authority; and it may be said with just as much truth, that the kings were priests, as that the priests were kings. Demeter, according to the Homeric Hymn, taught the kings of Eleusis her orgies; and when the βασιλεῖς lost their political power, they still retained, for the most part, the service of their tribe and country's gods; thus, the βασιλεῖς Ἐλικῶνιοι of Priene continued to administer the Panionian sacrifices of Poseidon. Not merely states, but every subordinate union in the state, was held together by the bond of religion. There was no family of consequence in early times but had its form of worship, which, according to the particular history of the house, was either that of the

<sup>1</sup> Il., xv. p. 197.

city and people, or one peculiar to itself. The family, in both cases, when its worship attained general repute,—an event to which particular occurrences gave occasion,<sup>1</sup>—might obtain a public priesthood of the same; for, as families which distinguished themselves in the art of prediction were intrusted with the office of prophet at national altars, (for example, the Iamidæ at Olympia,) so, it was considered, that those who had long carefully maintained the service of a god were best acquainted with it, and that their skill should be turned to the advantage of the whole community.<sup>2</sup>

20. However, within the historical period, family priesthoods were less numerous than those which the community administered through their magistrates, or regularly appointed priests, to whom the office was often assigned as an especial honour.<sup>3</sup> But, that there ever was in Greece a priesthood, strictly speaking, in contradistinction to a laity, is a point which, in my opinion, cannot at all be established. The contrary, however, must doubtless have shown itself in actions which belonged to the one order, but were forbidden to the other. Now, the duties of the priests in Greece consisted in uttering sometimes a short and simple form of prayer; offering up sacrifices more or less solemn, wherein much importance was attached to the skill and accuracy with which the rites were performed; all kinds of ceremonies, (such as the atonement for blood,) which, however,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Min. Pol.* ii., and the concurring sentiments of Meier, *Attic Process*, p. 472.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Il.* v. 78, vi. 300.

were intrusted at Athens to the Ephetaë, who were not regular priests; the chanting of hymns, although this was usually the business of public choruses; and occasionally, prediction. There is nothing here pointing out a separation between priests and laymen, as all these functions were exercised, in all ages, by persons who were not priests; thus any one might even carry on prophecy, like any other art, in order to obtain a livelihood.<sup>1</sup> There were indeed sacrifices from time to time, especially in the worship of Demeter and Dionysus, which could on no account be performed except by a few priests or priestesses, often even but once a-year, while the doors of the temple were closed; and there were vessels or symbols of the worship which were kept secured in coffers screened with tapestry, and could only be seen under the same conditions; but all this was merely caused by a dark and shrinking awe for these holy things, not by the striving of the priests after weighty and important privileges.

21. On the contrary, there was nothing in ancient Greece like a sacerdotal discipline maintained by instruction from generation to generation,—nothing like permanent relations between the priesthoods of different cities; for not even the priests of one and the same sanctuary constituted, in the strict sense, the members of whole. I will confine myself to Eleusis, as an example; and yet certainly it is there, above all other places, that we might suppose a kind of hierarchy to have existed. Demeter, according to the account in the Hymn, instructed Celeus, Triptolemus, Dioclus, and Eumolpus, the princes of the

<sup>1</sup> See, among others, Solon. Fr. 5. v. 53.



Eleusinians, in the performance of those sacrifices which were most pleasing to her, and also in the solemnization of the sacred festival.<sup>1</sup> The Hymn, which is an invitation to view the holy things of Eleusis, is evidently designed to represent in what manner the existing relations derived their origin from the goddess; for the attempt to explain and account for extant and long-established usages is chiefly to be perceived in it. The Eleusinian princes, therefore, must, at the time when the bard lived, have still administered the sacred rites for the community; and it is also clear, from the whole tenor of the poem, that Eleusis, with its lofty walls, (Cyclopean fortifications,) was still at that time an independent city, a πόλις,<sup>2</sup> and its festival Eleusinian, not Athenian. The families of the princes must, afterwards, for the most part, have died out; for, in the historical times, when Eleusis had become a member of the Attic commonwealth, and the festival a state observance of the Athenians, out of the entire number we still find only the Eumolpidæ, and some pretended descendants of Triptolemus; the former, indeed, advanced to the first rank, as Hierophants or showers of sacred things. Originally, the Eumolpidæ were certainly nothing more than what their name denotes, a family of bards, who came to Eleusis from the neighbouring Thrace, (for Eumolpus was called a Thracian in a very generally received tradition,) which lay around Helicon, the birth-place of the Muses' worship. Afterwards, on the contrary, the εὐ μέλεισθαι became only a subordinate matter,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comp. v. 150 sqq., 274, 476.

<sup>2</sup> V. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Chandl. *Inscr.*, p. 78, n. 123. Philostratus, *v. Soph.* ii. 20, p. 601.

and the *ἱερὰ φαίνειν*, τὰ *ἱερὰ δεικνύναι* was an office of far greater importance; wherefore Eumolpus, in proud family legends was even extolled as the founder of the festival altogether. The second office, that of torch-bearer, was for a long time held by the rich and influential family in which the names of Callias and Hipponicus alternate. They also, perhaps, came from Eleusis; for they deduced their origin from Triptolemus,<sup>1</sup> and, in like manner, their priesthood was regarded by them as a high honour: hence, Callias the Second fought at Marathon, decked out in his sacerdotal insignia; but these Daduchi were, at the same time, generals, statesmen, and ambassadors. When their race became extinct, the priesthood was transferred, as an hereditary office, to the Lycomedæ, a family of Cauconian origin, that had, from a remote period, performed at Phlya certain mystical sacrifices to Demeter and Poseidon; but assuredly neither did it consist of mere priests.<sup>2</sup> The third family were the Hieroceryces. According to one account, there were in ancient Athens four families of Ceryces, or heralds; one of these, (τὸ τῆς μυστηριώτιδος,) down to the latest times, administered the service at the celebration of the mysteries: so that one of its members was the Hieroceryx, properly so called. The others, however, had also free access to the various ceremonies; but the question, whether on this account they ought on the whole to be called priests, can be easily answered by any one who is

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hell., vi. 3. 6.

<sup>2</sup> We find Lycomedæ as Daduchi at least 200 years before Christ, as may be reckoned from the genealogies. *Min. Pol.*, p. 43 sqq. But at page 44, N. 2, for *p. Chr.* read *a. Chr.*

acquainted with the history of Andocides the Ceryx. Now, it is true that these families formed together a court of justice and council, and possessed, especially the Eumolpidæ and Ceryces, an ἐξήγησις, that is, the right to give, according to custom, *responsa de jure sacro*.<sup>1</sup> But how could those who, descended from different races, and pursuing different aims in civil life, were each contented with guarding the ancient privileges of their birth and family, and keeping up the usages of their fathers, form a priesthood animated by like principles, and acting in concert? and, in particular, how could they have thought of what has been laid to their charge in later times,—altering religion and mythology in a consistent and systematic manner? The changes which took place in these between the time of Homer and Herodotus naturally grew out of the religious wants of the time, the influence of other creeds, and the necessary operation of altered circumstances and relations. The priesthood certainly contributed to them least, for they were destitute of all means of influence.

22. I cannot here avoid saying something also on the subject of MYSTERIES, in defence of opinions formerly laid down.<sup>2</sup> Μυστήρια are initiatory institutions; and the main thing connected with them is the initiation, by means of which even those participate in a worship who would otherwise have had no concern in it. In reference to this, we have at once to consider how totally different the questions are as to the age of the institution, and that of the worship, and how both are by no means necessarily found to-

<sup>1</sup> Lysias agt. Andoc., § 10. Andoc. *De Myster.*, § 116.

<sup>2</sup> With these Völcker concurs in his *Myth. of the Jap.*, p. 371.

gether; but, on the contrary, the one rises out of the other only in particular cases. Thus Megara, as well as Eleusis, honoured Demeter from the earliest times; and on the whole, the legends connected with the sacred rites transplanted to Sicily<sup>1</sup> were the same with those of Attica, but the latter only became *Μυστήρια*; the former remained an ordinary Cerealian worship. Now, in order that a worship might be converted into Mysteries, two things were doubtless necessary. First, the worship must have sunk back into a sort of mysterious obscurity, whether this were caused by external circumstances, especially the subjugation of the tribes which were attached to it, or merely resulted from the nature of the worship itself. Both causes are commonly found in combination. The worship belonged to a remote age, and to tribes whose ascendancy had passed away, as is exemplified in that of Demeter and the Cabiri; its usages, therefore, became strange, and almost repugnant to the prevailing refinement. A certain undefined terror hung around the symbols preserved in the inner *μέγαρον* as well as the ceremonies (*ἔργια, τελεταί*) performed by skilful hands; the sacred legends were almost only whispered in the ear, and the strong expression of natural things, which almost appeared obscene when contrasted with the refinement of a more advanced civilisation, and which prevailed in all these *ἀπορρήτοις*, whether sayings or symbols, raised the mystic feeling to a still higher pitch. But, secondly, it is a peculiarity of the genuine mysterium, that the longing to share in it arises in those to whom the worship does not belong by inheritance;

<sup>1</sup> Dorians, vol. i. p. 416.

and this feeling, awakened by particular circumstances, was only evinced for some institutions of this nature. The *deisidæmonia* of the Athenians, and the superstition of the Greeks who navigated the Pontus, were unquestionably the main reasons why Eleusis and Samothrace (together with Lemnos) should alone, of all the sanctuaries of Demeter and the Cabiri, have become so celebrated as initiatory institutions.

23. "But," it has been asked, times without number, "what was it that filled the minds of the Greeks with such mysterious awe, so deep a reverence, as the Eleusinia inspired at the time of Pindar and Sophocles, if we assume it as a matter of certainty that instruction, properly speaking, in the divine nature and man's future destiny, were *not* imparted in them?" It could not assuredly have been dread alone for the sacredness of dark symbols. I imagine (without, however, wishing to urge this view on any one else) that, as among the Greeks, everything, from the peculiar disposition of the people, became an art; so also here, out of religious ceremonies, exhibition of symbols, actions performed in common by the *mystæ*, and the chanting of hymns, a kind of imposing *artistic whole* was formed, which left behind that much-prized impression of spiritual comfort and confidence in those who had a susceptibility for symbolical communication. In particular, it cannot, surely, admit of any doubt that the *mystæ* went away tranquillized by some means or other as to their future state; and it is easy to perceive how readily the *mythi* of Persephone, to say the least, could be made available for that purpose.

24. I have here gone on the assumption, which I consider unavoidable, that there was no regular instruction, no dogmatical communication, connected with the Grecian worship in general. There could be nothing of the kind introduced in the public service, from the way in which it was altogether conducted: for the priest did not address the people at all. Where, for example, should he have said to them, "Apollo is a god who defends or destroys, according to the nature of the case"? But even in the mysteries dogmatical communication cannot be pointed out, as is proved by Lobeck.<sup>1</sup> The *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* were themselves *mythi* which were designed to explain symbols. The only direct declarations are to be sought for in the sacred songs, in the epithets of the hymns; but these, however, were still nothing more than strongly concentrated outbursts of feeling, such as *Zeῦ, κῦδιστε μέγιστε*; the continuation immediately relapsed into the mythical and symbolical.

25. But no clearly-announced doctrine will assuredly be looked for as a tradition from the early world, when once it has been perceived that those ancient times gave, of necessity, a mythic expression to their notions of deity, and that the creation of the mythus was only at all possible, from the want of a direct communication.<sup>2</sup> Such a doctrine or communication, therefore, could not be derived from the early world, and it would be necessary to adopt the supposition, that it was either mere speculation of the priests themselves, or of the philosophers. Now, no traces

<sup>1</sup> *De Myst. Argumentis.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 19.

whatever of such speculation on the part of the former can be found; and the administrators of the positive worship were, for reasons which may easily be conceived, too much opposed to philosophy to borrow much from that source. Supposing them to have had views and opinions of every shade, and indeed it could not well be otherwise, these were altogether a private affair, and had nothing to do with their official duties. Thus Herodotus heard from the priestesses of Dodona an historical philosopheme regarding the origin of religion in Greece,—in *that* form certainly no primitive tradition.

26. Ancient Greece possessed only two means of representing and communicating ideas on deity—the MYTHUS and the SYMBOL. The mythus relates an action, by which the Divine Being reveals himself in his power and individuality; the symbol renders it visible to the sense, by means of an object placed in connexion therewith. Both must have co-existed with belief in the gods from the very beginning; for the latter was presented alive, expressed and communicated through them alone. The idea of the Defender, the Bright God, (Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,) when once conceived, was certainly not expressed in the distinct naked doctrine, “There is a being of such power and agency.” But the people would have *experienced* how their god warded off and protected; and the power of faith was such, that one experience speedily led to another. Now, notions which have assumed the form of experience are just mythi. The religious worship, therefore, was even at its origin most intimately connected with the mythus.

27. But an attempt has been made to deny the

use of symbols to the earliest ages of Greece, and to bring it down to the post-Homeric and post-Hesiodic period. What is really meant by this I cannot imagine. Symbol, in the sense in which it is here taken, and in which it was also understood by the ancients, is an external visible sign, with which a spiritual emotion, feeling, or idea is connected. As, according to the foregoing investigation, the mythic representation can never rest upon arbitrary choice of expression, I am also led to the assumption, the proof of which properly belongs to Symbolism, That this connexion of the idea with the sign, when it took place, was in like manner natural and necessary to the ancient world; that it occurred involuntarily; and that the essence of the symbol consists in this supposed real connexion of the sign with the thing signified. Now, symbols in this sense are evidently coeval with the human race: they result from the union of the soul with the body in man; nature has implanted the feeling for them in the human heart. How is it that we understand what the endless diversities of human expression and gesture signify? How comes it that every physiognomy expresses to us spiritual peculiarities, without any consciousness on our part of the cause? Here experience alone cannot be our guide: for without having ever seen a countenance like that of the Jupiter Olympius, we should yet, when we saw it, immediately understand its features. An earlier race of mankind, who lived still more in sensible impressions, must have had a still stronger feeling for them. It may be said, that all nature wore to them a physiognomical aspect. Now, the worship which represented the feelings of



the Divine in visible, external actions, was in its nature thoroughly symbolical. No one can seriously doubt that prostration at prayer is a symbolic act; for corporeal abasement very evidently denotes spiritual subordination: so evidently, for this reason, that language cannot even describe the spiritual except by means of a material relation. But it is equally certain that sacrifice also is symbolical; for how would the feeling of acknowledgment, that it is a god who supplies us with food and drink, display itself in action, but by withdrawing a portion of them from the use of man and setting it apart in honour of the deity? But precisely because the symbolical has its essence in the idea of an actual connexion between the sign and the thing signified, was an inlet left for the superstitious error that something palatable was really offered to the gods—that they tasted it. But it will scarcely do to derive the usage from this superstition; in other words, to assign the intention of raising a savoury steam as the original foundation of all sacrifice. It would then be necessary to suppose, that at the ceremony of libation, the wine was poured on the earth in order that the gods might lick it up! I have here only brought into view one side of the idea which forms the basis of sacrifice, and which the other, certainly not less ancient, always accompanies, namely, the idea of atonement by sacrifice; which was from the earliest times expressed in numberless usages and legends, and which could only spring from the strongest and most intense religious feeling. “We are deserving of death; we offer as a substitute the blood of the animal.” The shedding of blood, also, was not ori-

ginally considered as a mere figure, but as a real compensation; for the feeling by which the act was accompanied in fact made it such. This signification of the sacrifice and libation was also known to Homer; only he puts it in a somewhat problematical shape, in conformity with the particular occasion of the rite at the oath-taking, "May the brain of him who violates the oath be scattered like this wine upon the ground."<sup>1</sup> However, even in this poet, both the meanings of the sacrifice already pass into each other, and he views it as a gift by which pardon for past sins is in some measure purchased from the gods.<sup>2</sup>

28. Accordingly it is to be understood, as a matter of course, that all festal acts likewise are symbolical; only what is expressed are often very general feelings, such as joy, and the desire to please the gods. But no one can doubt that in many festal practices there was a more definite reference to the nature of the deity, and the special worship of individual gods is also their symbolism. It has indeed been said, on the other hand, that even the establishment of festivals was for the most part post-Homeric, because in that poet there is but little said in allusion to fixed annual feasts.<sup>3</sup> But whoever has occupied himself, to any considerable extent, with the history of the Grecian worships, must have come to the conviction (I here appeal with confidence to all who are acquainted with the subject) that the foundation of festivals is often most intimately connected with the

<sup>1</sup> Il., iii. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Il., ix. 499.

<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, he mentions the Panionia on Helice, Il., xx. 404, and the yearly sacrifices of the Athenian Erechtheus, and alludes to others.

establishment of the worship; and that the entire festal symbolism, as well as the time of the festival, must have been alike fixed at that time. One example will suffice. The festivals of Dionysus all took place in Poseidon, Gamelion, Anthesterion, and Elaphebolion, the last autumn and the three winter months.<sup>1</sup> The derivation of this custom, merely from the general idea of the god of wine, would be inadmissible. The reason is to be found in the transplantation of the worship from Heliconian and Parnassian Thrace. For we know with certainty, that the great biennial festival of Dionysus, called the Trieterica, was celebrated at Parnassus after the winter solstice, (*pulsa bruma*);<sup>2</sup> and at Delphi, all the winter months were consecrated to the Dionysian religion, and the Dithyramb then resounded at all the sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> In this way, if there were room here for further investigation, we might be enabled to give still more fragments of a Calendar of Feasts, which must have accompanied the colonisation of the worship itself from district to district. But it is altogether an absurdity to think of deducing these things, in which the Greeks, more than any other people, observed the customs of their fathers, and always most carefully repeated even what they did not understand, because it was a *πρότριον*, from times comparatively recent, and but little removed from the limits of memory.

29. Further, the human form of the gods, as well

<sup>1</sup> According to Böckh's Exposition. The Lenæa can, perhaps from the allusion in the Inscr. *Merm. Oxon.* 21, p. 15, be assigned to the 19th Gamelion.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Ersch, Encyclop., xi. p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch *El* 9, s. 229.

as their appearance in the bodies of animals, is symbolical. For even Anthropomorphism did not proceed from actual external impressions, but from feelings and thoughts which sought a sensible expression, and found the most fitting and natural in the form of man. Which was the earlier; the dark idea of the might and power of Hera, or her strong arms, so celebrated by Homer? the idea of the paternal character and divine glory of Zeus, or the mild and majestic features of the countenance represented by Phidias? Every one must acknowledge that it was the former; and the latter is, therefore, symbolical. Or did the ancients imagine, when they represented Demeter as a full and blooming matron, that young nature had sucked vital energy from those human breasts, or that from that body had come forth the blessing of the harvest? Certainly not; on the contrary, the form was entirely an emblem of the thought. All attributes likewise were originally symbols; only they commonly represented but one side, a single manifestation of the deity's person. Apollo was regarded as the god who sent mysterious and sudden death. For this agency, the language had scarcely any other word than the figure of arrows shot from a distance, and by it alone was the thought recognised. Numberless epithets celebrate the Far-smiter, the skilful Archer.

30. But there is one point on which the opponents of symbolism insist with especial obstinacy; and it is this: That there is no trace of animal symbolism to be found in Homer; that the gods are never to be found represented by particular animals. Now, I will readily admit, that Homer had really no living intuition of a particular relation of the animal, as a

natural symbol, to the god; but I maintain, at the same time, that he affords sufficient indications that an earlier age perceived such a relation. The *βοῶπις* "Ἥρα is a striking example. That Homer can scarcely attach to the expression any other idea than "large-eyed," is manifest from this, that he applies the same epithet also to a Nereid,<sup>1</sup> and two heroines.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the frequent repetition of this appellation, and the fact that, among the goddesses of Olympus, Hera is scarcely called by any other, furnish evidence of a solemn use of it, which can hardly be elsewhere derived than from Argos, which was also known to Homer as the chief seat of her worship. Now, when we know that the servant of the goddess, Ἴω Καλλιθέσσα, so famed in primitive mythi, appeared at Argos in the form of a cow; and that, too, at all events, before the Greeks came into any close acquaintance with Egypt;<sup>3</sup> that Hera had sacred cows there; that sacrifices of cows were offered up to her; and that, according to ancient custom, the priestess was drawn by cows to the altar, we also perceive that when the ancient Argive called his deity *βοῶπις*, he thereby meant to describe her as having the form of a cow. And it is perfectly clear how the name, originally full of significance, after having circulated from place to place, and been carried about in the mouths of the bards, became a mere customary and unmeaning form. Homer certainly derived, also, from the same source, from ancient local worships, the name of Athena Γλαυκῶπις, which, as well as some other very ancient names, he uses as a substantive;<sup>4</sup> for the temple,

<sup>1</sup> Il., xviii. 40. Comp. Hesiod. Theog. 355.

<sup>2</sup> Il., iii. 144, vii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. above, pp. 72 and 122.

<sup>4</sup> Il., viii. 373, 420. Od., iii. 135, xiii. 389.

or the citadel of Troy, is called by himself a sanctuary of Athena Glaukopis;<sup>1</sup> at the time of Alcæus, a sanctuary, called Γλαυκῶπον, stood in Sigeum<sup>2</sup>—a town which, according to an ancient account, was built from the ruins of Troy; and the citadel of Athens was also called Glaukopion, as an ancient and sacred name.<sup>3</sup> However, it is not meant to be asserted from this, that the surname of Glaukopis is, perhaps, derived from the owl. I only go so far as to say, that this epithet also comes from the worship. How many mystic mythi are connected with the horse as a symbol of Poseidon; and how deep lies the cause why this animal, of all others, should be dedicated to the god of waters! Homer, however, was well acquainted with the sacredness of the animal; for it was solely on this account that the horses of Achilles were a gift of Poseidon,<sup>4</sup> and the horses of Zeus were unyoked by the same deity.<sup>5</sup> The grounds, also, of all these fictions were still present to him in the worship; for horses, as offerings to the Trojan Scamander, were plunged into that stream,<sup>6</sup> just as the ancient Argive sunk bridled horses into the fresh-water gulph Δεινῇ.<sup>7</sup> But by this we do not mean to say that the relation by which the horse was appropriated to Poseidon as a natural symbol—the feeling with which earlier generations had dedicated that animal to the god of seas and fountains, was still alive and distinct in the poet's mind.

### 31. Mythic narrations, ancient local traditions,

<sup>1</sup> Il., vi. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Str., xiii. 600.

<sup>3</sup> However, there was a dispute on this matter among the Alexandrian authors. See Str., vii. p. 297; Schol. Il., v. 422.

<sup>4</sup> Il., xxiii. 277.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* viii. 440.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* xxi. 132.

<sup>7</sup> Paus., viii. 7. 2.

lead us back more frequently than Homer's allusions to the early cultivation of animal symbolism. I select an example which I have already touched upon elsewhere—the SWAN OF APOLLO. That deity was worshipped, according to the testimony of the *Iliad*, in the Trojan island of Tenedos. There, too, was Tennes honoured as the ἥρως ἐπώνυμος of the island.<sup>1</sup> Now, his father was called Cynus in an oft-told and romance-like legend.<sup>2</sup> That the aquatic fowl is thereby meant, may be proved from his parents, Poseidon the god of waters, who is named by many, and Scamandroice;<sup>3</sup> and this is confirmed by the circumstance mentioned by Hellanicus,<sup>4</sup> that he was *white* from his youth upwards.<sup>5</sup> The swan, therefore, as father to the chief hero on the Apollinian island, stands in distinct relation to the god, who is made to come forward still more prominently, from the fact that Apollo himself is also called the father of Tennes.<sup>6</sup> I think we can here scarcely fail to recognise a mythus which was local at Tenedos, and could not possibly be invented at a time when, according to Voss's notion,<sup>7</sup> adventurous mariners had brought home from Liguria, the legend of the musical swans. The idea, too, of calling the swan, instead of Apollo, the father of a hero, demands altogether a simplicity and boldness of fancy which are far more ancient than the poems of Homer. On the contrary,

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, N. D. iii. 15, in *Verr.*, l. i. 19; Diod., v. 83; Plut. *Qu. Gr.*, 28, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Canne on Conon, 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Schol. Vet. ad Pind.* O. ii. 147; Tzetz. *Lyc.*, 232.

<sup>4</sup> *Schol. Theoc.*, xvi. 49.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Virg. *Æn.*, x. 189.

<sup>6</sup> Tzetz. *Lyc.*, 232.

<sup>7</sup> *Myth. Letters*, ii. 12.

the fable quoted by Hyginus from Hesiod,<sup>1</sup> bears a later character. It says that Cynus king of Liguria, was metamorphosed into a swan, from grief at the fate of his kinsman Phaëthon. Here, indeed, the stories of mariners may have come into play.<sup>2</sup> However, this example also shows, that Cynus, in mythology, signifies the swan; and when we read in Hesiod's Shield, that a Cynus was slain by Hercules in the Pegasæan sanctuary of Apollo, and that the same person had plundered the hecatombs of the god as they passed along, it may be understood at a glance, that this mythus must have been formed by nearly the following transitions and metamorphoses: First, Cynus, Apollo's prophet, stationed at Pagasæ and in the sanctuary; then, through misapprehension, Cynus plundering and devouring Apollo's herds. Thereby *he* became the son of Ares, and *Hercules* his enemy and conqueror.

32. Whoever wishes to convince himself of the deep influence exercised by animal symbolism on the entire mythology of Greece, has merely to undertake the task, not a trifling one, indeed, of reducing the fables related by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, to the original local traditions. Although certainly not in them all, in many of them, however, he will find symbols of the gods, the derivation and explanation of which can, in this way, be obtained; and he may then perceive whether any work can be called a history of Grecian civilisation, which declares symbolism, though evidently the product of an extremely simple and childlike intuition of nature, to

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps only from the ἀστρινή ἑξέλις. See above, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Welcker's *Prometh.*, p. 569.



be more recent than Homer's world of gods, who were, for the most part, emancipated from nature.<sup>1</sup>

Very often the mythus is nothing else than a symbol unfolded and put in action, having its existence in and through the symbol. Many legends, especially *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*, are only explanations, or derivations of symbols, although they do not always, by any means, set out from the correct idea of them; for centuries frequently intervened between the creation of the one and the formation of the other. On the whole, the symbol may, in general, be still older and more original than the mythus: for in the former a dark but strong feeling, and undefined presentiment of the Divine are expressed; whereas, in the latter, ideas and notions are rather presented, and that too in a more clear and definite manner.

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### CHAPTER XIII.

#### *On the Interpretation of the Mythus itself.*

IN the foregoing chapters we were occupied with an exposition of the method by which the mythus can be reduced to its original elements, and the circumstances and relations amidst which it came into existence discovered. Now, it is indeed true, that the mythus itself is not yet thereby explained; but I think that, at all events, the greater part of the way has been gone over, and the direction of the

<sup>1</sup> Comp., however, Dor. i. 327.

remainder pointed out. Experience in numerous cases has taught me at least, that the mythus almost interprets itself, if seized in its native soil, if taken at its root. But—and here lies the main point—on this method alone can a philosophical conviction be grounded. It can never result from mere conjectures, and sporting with possibilities. I venture, therefore, to lay it down as a leading proposition of this work, that in the treatment of mythi, interpretation is very far from being the first, and ought rather to be regarded as the last part of the business.

The main problem, however, still remains. How are we to arrive at a tolerably certain understanding of the MYTHIC STYLE? The mythic expression must be regarded as a peculiar child-like language, the grammar and dictionary of which have to be ascertained; and this investigation must be confined to the existing materials, as a tradition regarding the explanation of this mode of expression, an *authentic interpretation*, is not to be expected from antiquity, or cannot be recognised. For the era of myth-creation itself could not possibly supply the interpretation, as it is a fundamental law of this spiritual activity, that it immediately adopts the imaginary as truth, without ever reflecting on itself; and later times, which indeed occupied themselves with interpretation, had, together with the creative fancy, lost also the inward sense; for the σοφιστές, who had the boldness, great for their own time, to separate mythologemes from facts,<sup>1</sup> did nothing more, however, than subtilize. Antiquity, on the whole, did not perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Plato, Phæd., p. 229.

possess sufficient power of removal from self, for an historical consideration and elucidation of the subject ; and was incapable of entering into a style of thought and invention which had become foreign to it. So that, we must not by any means concede to antiquity a legislative authority in this matter ; nor, on account of that criticism of earlier attempts, surrender the conviction, that investigation into the mythic expression can be conducted, even in our times, with great certainty and philosophical right consequence : a conviction which is especially grounded on this, that we have already a general idea of the relation between form and substance in the mythus, and of the myth-forming activity, and are enabled in some measure to enter into the manner of thinking by which that remote period was characterized. We know, as has been shown in the first chapter, that the most diversified ideas regarding the relations of deity, nature, and humanity, are here presented in the form of actions of personified beings. The fundamental notion is doubtless thereby expressed, that beings analogous to the souls of men, and only differing from them by greater unity and internal agreement of action, live and move throughout the physical as well as the moral world. Nature is always conceived as in close union with man, and the spiritual principles of both (as in Themis) identical or homogeneous ; nay, the spirit of man often appears, as in the genuine philosophy of identity, only a particular dependent *spirit of nature*. Hence it was that all life and nature came to be viewed as a theatre of *dæmonic* agency,—a belief which in later times, when enlightenment had obtained the ascen-

dancy, continued to exist merely as a superstition; thus, for example, the story ran, among the women and children of Athens, that the rich and powerful Hipponicus cherished in his son (who actually turned out an enemy to the ancient honour of the house) a dæmon of mischief, (ἀλιτήριος,) who overturned his table,<sup>1</sup>—a superstition which is finely applied by Euripides, when he causes Helen to be denounced as a daughter, not of Zeus, but of Ἀλάστωρ.<sup>2</sup> This view, which we can now only attain by speculation, and perhaps even employ in poetry, was at that time the natural belief. Without it, mythology could not have arisen at all, although it still continued to be cultivated in those ages when nature was more regarded as inanimate, and man more as a free individual.

Now, in ordinary mythology, it is a pervading principle, that the ordinary human relations are also transferred to all beings who are not human. Such are especially the relations of *affinity by birth*, by which an immense number of things are denoted,—a very natural circumstance, particularly at a time when the family bond and gentile union stood in room of all other connexions. Procreation is therefore one of the principal images employed in mythology,—although no particular significance is attached to the act in itself, except where, in a general way, life and health, blessing and plenty, are derived from it, as in the *ἱεροὶ γάμοι*; and the organ of generation in the human body only figures as a symbol where constant fructification, permanent production, were imagined by faith to proceed from the gods, as in the

<sup>1</sup> Andoc., *De Myst.*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Troad., 769.

worship of Demeter, Hermes, and Dionysus. But in heroic mythology, not only the cause, but also every main condition of existence, and not merely of collective existence, but also of the most conspicuous quality, is represented, under the figure of father or mother. Lands, mountains, and rivers, beget nations and heroes; prophets and musicians are children of the gods of prophecy and music; valiant warriors, the progeny of Ares, and tribe leaders, descendants of Zeus. It is only from the interest that Zeus and Apollo take in Hector, that he is called by Homer<sup>1</sup> the son of the former, and by Stesichorus<sup>2</sup> of the latter. Bygone are often the parents of later circumstances, although these may rest on a different foundation. Hence it was that entirely different tribes, who inhabited the same district, are placed in genealogical connexion.<sup>3</sup>

When the gods of a nation or family are said to have begotten its founders, this is a simple expression of untutored piety: but when the contrary occurs, and the ancestors beget the deities, as the Minyan hero Erginus was the father of the fostering god Trophonius,<sup>4</sup> and Phlegyas the grandfather of Esculapius, who was originally worshipped by the Phlegyans,<sup>5</sup> we may conclude that such a mythus did not spring up among the people, but *externally* among those to whom the worship came from that race; and who, therefore, looked upon the god himself as its offspring. I would here scarcely bring forward examples, in support of the position, that

<sup>1</sup> Il., xiii. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Orch., p. 257.

<sup>5</sup> Orch., p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Tz. Lyc., 266.

<sup>4</sup> Orch., p. 152.

the national deities frequently begat the national heroes, especially when the deeds of the latter referred to the temples of the former, if it were not my design to show at the same time, by a clear analogy, how naturally it came to pass that *surnames* of the gods came into the room of the names themselves; and in consequence of falling into disuse as surnames, were in after ages held to be proper names of heroes, while, at the same time, the remembrance still continued that the gods themselves were originally regarded as the fathers of the heroes.

THESEUS was a Poseidonian hero. First, in the religious worship, for he was worshipped like Poseidon, on the *ὀγδόαι*, the eighth days of the month.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, in the mythus: for the chief exploit of Theseus, in genuine ancient tradition, is evidently the expedition from Trœzen, where Poseidon was *πολιούχος*,<sup>2</sup> across the isthmus of the god to Athens, and the destruction of the robbers and murderers he encountered; but it is clear that the *Ἰσθμιάς ὁδὸς*, the rocky path along the shore of the Corinthian gulf, as well as the sacred pine-grove of the god, were thereby represented as being delivered and purified from profane intruders, for even the Isthmia themselves were instituted by Theseus according to Attic tradition.<sup>3</sup> Now, the father of Theseus was said to be either the god POSEIDON,<sup>4</sup> or the Attic king, ÆGEUS, which name also derived from *αἶγες*, “billows, breakers,” just designates the god of the

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Thes., 36. It can be gathered from the Insc. *Marm. Oxon.*, 21, p. 15, that the Poseidia were celebrated on the eighth of Poseideon.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., 6, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., 25.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., 6.

sea, whose sacred places are called *Ægæ*, and who, at the Isthmus itself, was called *Ægæon*,<sup>1</sup> otherwise *Ægæus*.<sup>2</sup> A proof of this is to be found in the religion of the *Phytalidæ*, a family settled on the banks of the *Cephissus*, who were employed in rearing trees, especially fig plantations,<sup>3</sup> and who worshipped deities corresponding to that occupation, namely, *Demeter*, *Athena*, *Poseidon*, the fruit-ripening *Zephyrus*,<sup>4</sup> and in addition to these *Ægeus*. Now, wherefore *Ægeus*?<sup>5</sup> Perhaps because they gave his son a friendly welcome when he came from the Isthmus?<sup>6</sup> This, in fact, is stated in the legend, which, like many others contained in the *Theseus* of *Plutarch*, was evolved from the religious usage; but our context alone teaches us the true reason, viz., because *Ægeus* is but another name for *Poseidon*.

2. *BELLEROPHON*, the Corinthian hero, as a searching mythologist<sup>7</sup> has lately proved, corresponds, in his activity, to the god *Poseidon*, as horse-tamer and fount-opener. Now, he also is called the son of *Poseidon*, and the latter as the true is placed in opposition to the reputed father, (*πατὴρ κατ' ἐπὶ κλησιν*,) *Glaucus*, the *Sisyphide*.<sup>8</sup> But when we know that

<sup>1</sup> *Callimach.* in *Plut. Symp.*, v. 3. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Pherecyd.* in *Schol. Apoll.*, i. 831. *Comp. Lycoph.*, 135, *Hesych.*, *Αἰγυαίων*.

<sup>3</sup> *Paus.*, i. 37. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Paus.*, i. 37. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Plut.* 23, where for *ἐξήρεθ' δὲ καὶ τέμενος Αἴτῳ*, we must certainly, from the context, read *Αἴτῳ*, and afterwards *καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παρασχόντων τὸν δασμὸν οἴκους ἱστάσαν εἰς ὕσϊαν ἀντὶ τειλεῖν ἀποφαγὰς*, as *Plutarch* can neither speak of a *τέμενος* of *Theseus*, *Comp.* c. 35, nor of a *ὕσϊα* offered to him while alive. *Comp. ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Paus.*, 37. 3. *Plut.* 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Völcker Myth. der Jap.*, § 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Schol. Vet. Pind. O.*, xiii. 98.

γλαυκός is a favourite epithet of the sea,—that Anthedon, in Bœotia, worshipped a sea-dæmon called Glaucus,—and that in Corinth itself there was a heroine named Glauce,<sup>1</sup>—in this case, too, we can no longer doubt that the father of Bellerophon was originally called Poseidon Glaucus. Hence, it is also clear, that the Ionic Βασιλείς, whether they ascribed their origin to Neleus, or Glaucus the Lycian, were of Poseidonian race.<sup>2</sup>

3. In the mythus of ION, the collective of the Ionic nation, the reference to the WORSHIP OF APOLLO comes most prominently forward. Euripides handled a legend according to which Ion was brought up in the Pythian sanctuary, and from him (or Xuthus) is also derived the introduction of Apollo's festival, the Boëdromia; lastly, he is also called a son of Apollo. But Xuthus is more commonly called his father. Here, this, too, is evidently but a surname of the god, who, being on other occasions often called ξανθός, might also be called ξουθός by dialectic variation.<sup>3</sup>

4. The fourth example may be taken from the above-explained mythus of TENNES, who, in like sense, is called the son of APOLLO and CYCNUS.<sup>4</sup>

The relation of *brothers and sisters*, like that of parents, is susceptible of various interpretations. They often become children of one father by means of references the most widely different, and are then in some measure brought together, as, in the above elucidated genealogy,<sup>5</sup> the fifty moons of the Olym-

<sup>1</sup> Paus., ii. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Herod., i. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Dor., vol. i. pp. 267, 273, 324.

<sup>4</sup> P. 204.

<sup>5</sup> P. 161.



pic Cycle are represented as sisters of the Epear and Ætolian race. But the mythus often really designs to point out a fraternal relation. Even this, however, is not always to be understood as an internal affinity, for it may exist between ideas and beings mutually opposed, merely because they stand on the same step, and have many points of contact. The pair, Prometheus and Epimetheus, is an example taken from the class of purely imaginary persons. Another which stands nearer to history is afforded by the hostile brothers, Crisus and Panopeus, who were called sons of Phocus so early as Asius.<sup>1</sup> Crisa and Panopeus were considerable towns in Phocis, the former peopled by Cretans, and probably called *Κρίσα* from *Κρησία*; the latter belonging to the Minyo-Phlegians, the ancient foes of the Crissæan sanctuary. They certainly, therefore, were not placed in juxtaposition as brothers, by reason of any relationship, but merely on account of their hostility.<sup>2</sup> There is one thing in particular to which I must here call attention, viz., the fathers and mothers of heroes sprung from ancient predicates, wherein we must probably recognise an ancient usage of poetry. Thus Homer calls the wily Melanthius, son of *Δόλιος*; thus, also, a brother of Athamas, in the mythus relating to whom flight and exile are a fundamental feature, is called *Διωχθάνδας* (from *διώκειν* i. q. *φεύγειν*,<sup>3</sup> and *χθών*).<sup>4</sup> Although sons of heroes frequently appear, whose names bear reference to the deeds of

<sup>1</sup> Paus., ii. 29, 4. Comp. Schol. Eurip. Orest., 33, Tz. Lyc., 939, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Orch., p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Buttmann Lexil., p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Orch., p. 175.

their fathers, as Eurysaces to the *ἐνὺ σάκος* of his father Ajax, and Tisamenus to Orestes' act of vengeance, (*τισαμένου τὴν μητέρα*),<sup>1</sup> we must not, however, consider this a sufficient reason for pronouncing these sons to be in every case fictitious persons; for even real children might be so called by the family or the people, in honour of their father, as the Trojans in Homer call Scamandrius "city-protector," because his father was so in reality. This mode of giving names was continued even during the historical times.<sup>2</sup>

Even these indications show how easily it may happen that genealogies run athwart and contradict each other, yet without any of them being meaningless and untrue; and how, in a larger tissue of family successions, the most different materials may lie mingled together. A most striking example is furnished by the many-coloured and perplexed genealogies of the Minyan race.<sup>3</sup> Minyas is called the son of Orchomenus, because the race dwelt in that city; the son of Chryses, because he inherited much gold from his ancestors; the son of Ares, because the Minyo-Phlegyan tribe signalized themselves by fierce daring in war; the son of Sisyphus, the Æolide, because the Minyans were nigh-related to the Corintho-Æolians; the son of Poseidon, because they carried on navigation; and the son of Aleus, from a neighbouring sanctuary dedicated to a dæmon of that name.

In like manner, also, the relation of *husband and*

<sup>1</sup> Hercules' sons, Alcæus and Palæmon, also come under this class.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Dor., vol. i. p. 72 f.      <sup>3</sup> Orch., p. 133 sqq.

wife naturally admits of manifold interpretations; but here the fundamental idea will still always be that of union, which, however, may often also be only the means of representing another relation. On this subject, I shall merely observe further, that even the division of all mythological beings into masculine and feminine,—the ancient Grecian people proper hardly knew a neuter gender,—cannot, in any event, have been the result of accident. In natural religion, properly so called, man is well known to be the active, woman the receiving principle; but in order to explain throughout the whole of mythology, why a mythic being is male or female, the signification of the genders in the ante-historical ages will first require to be investigated. Instead of Prometheus, for instance, a Prometheia might also be employed, if the never-resting intellect must not of necessity have been a man; on the contrary, Divine Providence, a being akin to Destiny, was rightly put in the feminine by Alcman.<sup>1</sup> But the reason why Destiny is invariably personified in that gender, as *Μοῖρα Αἶσα, Κῆρ, Ἀνάγκη, Εἰμαρμένη, Νέμεσις, Κατακλῶδες*, and so forth, (for *μόρος* is never represented in Homer as a person, and in Hesiod it is only another word for death,) will be perceived, if we reflect that the noiseless, preparing, *spinning* activity, the hidden, the secret, the invisible, is far more characteristic of woman than man. In like manner, we may understand with certainty why the goddesses of song are *Μῶσαι*, and not *Μῶντες*, when we know that antiquity regarded the soul of woman as more accessible to every sort of inspiration, which also, according to

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *De Fort. Rom.*, 4.

ancient opinion, is still a *πάσχειν*. Much may be said on this subject, especially if, at the same time, we try with reflection to enter into the feelings under whose influence the original tongues made masculines and feminines of so many words in which the reason is now to us far from clear at first sight.

As union and concord are generally expressed by relationship and marriage, so, in the mythic language, combat is the general figure to denote every kind of opposition. The mythus loves to render that which is internal external, to change relations into actions; and in it, therefore, even things which were never at variance, must engage in conflict.<sup>1</sup> But it not unseldom happens, that a mythic contest arises out of the endeavour to explain how a present has come into the place of an earlier condition: hence, it was fabled by some whom Æschylus reproves in his *Eumenides*,<sup>2</sup> that of the Delphian-oracle deities, Themis was driven forth by Phœbe with violence: and hence, also, Pindar's combat between Apollo and the Earth.<sup>3</sup>

It is impossible to add here to these remarks a particular consideration of every action which occurs in the mythic expression, and is in the clearest manner seen to be figurative, in the theogonic legends more especially, but also in local mythi of a mystic nature; for example, binding and loosing, swallowing, tearing asunder, restoring to life, serving up, emasculating, burning, robbing, hurling from heaven, sinking into the earth and water, wandering about and searching, spinning and weaving, and—when the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. above, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Eum.*, 5.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Schol.* to v. 2.

action also takes in other symbolical beings and things—fighting with dragons, sowing teeth, tasting certain fruits, transforming into horses, serpents, bulls, and so forth. It is obvious, that to treat of these would be nothing else than to compile a grammar and dictionary of symbolism and mythology, in which the symbols, together with the mythic personages, would stand as verbal roots, and the mythic activities as flexions and syntactical collocations. This is not by any means a problem for an Introduction.

However, we may here, to speak with Heyne, sub-join some *cautiones* to the treatment of the symbolical. To me, also, it seems a matter of certainty, that the entire mythic language was originally significant, and must therefore be interpreted. To suppose the contrary would be setting the Greeks down as mere childish fools. But it does not, however, follow from this that the symbolical expression is *always* significant, inasmuch as it may very well be imagined, that in times when all sorts of marvellous stories, originally of symbolical import, had once entered into heroic mythology, some of these would, as ordinary adventures, be transferred from one to another; and on this transference, would now signify nothing further than the hero's strength and daring, or a beautiful and attractive tale. Imitations of this sort are very frequently to be met with in mythi,<sup>1</sup> and, of course, add greatly to the difficulty of interpretation, inasmuch as in many cases they render its admissibility doubtful, unless other determinative grounds present themselves.

Here lies another difficulty. We must not always

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Canne, Mythol. Intro., p. 58.

presuppose that a particular symbol corresponds exactly to a particular idea, such as we may be accustomed to conceive it. On the contrary, it is a peculiarity of this figurative language, that it takes up different sides of the same object, bringing forward and employing in representation, sometimes the one and sometimes the other. What different things does the serpent denote in Greek mythology!—the exuberance of all-producing nature, (in the mythi of Cecrops, Erectheus, Cadmus;) eternal youth and health, (in Esculapius;) and impure, savage, barren nature, (Python.) And how much more must that be the case when we go beyond the boundaries of a particular nation, and come to others of a different character! The symbols will partly remain the same so long as external nature continues unchanged; but their signification will sensibly vary with the different national modes of intuition: but if, in addition to this, external nature, which leaves its impress on symbolical representation, is also different, then it often happens that everything undergoes a revolution and transformation. Thus the star Sirius was to the Greeks widely different in its import from what Sothis was to the Egyptians. To the former it was a dog which the heat of summer drives mad, and was therefore humbly adjured and deprecated; to the latter, it was the mild star of Isis, the harbinger of the Nile's overflow, and therefore representable in the form of a cow.<sup>1</sup> This may serve as a proof how little the symbol, and what is symbolically represented, always necessarily correspond among different nations. But when such a correspondence is found,

<sup>1</sup> St Martin, *Notice sur le Zodiaque*, p. 42.

it may either have its foundation in the common nature of both lands and nations, or in external transference; but we ought, however, when we would build philosophical conclusions on the latter, to point it out either directly, by means of express information with regard to the connexion, or indirectly, by showing the inadmissibility of the former supposition. In most cases that supposition might be the more likely, at least in general, as we can hardly, for example, derive all phallic representations from the same tribe. The Egyptian women greeted Apis with the same unbecoming ceremony<sup>1</sup> which those of Otaheite practise towards strangers of consequence. Herodotus would say that the latter borrowed it from the former. The mythic deluges of Deucalion, Xisuthrus, and Noah, we may still attempt to identify; but will that also do for the deluge of Satyavrata,<sup>2</sup> and that of Mexico mentioned by Humboldt?

I here come, for the first time, to a point on which so much has been said elsewhere; and on this account for the first time, because I wished to treat merely of the mythology of the Greeks as a distinct historical science. To say that it could not be handled separately in this way, would be as much, nay, strictly speaking, more than to assert, that the Greek language could not be acquired without the Sanscrit and Hebrew. The language is certainly a quite irrefragable proof that a common civilisation of mankind lies at the foundation of the Greek, Indian, and German nations; besides, it is not likely, that of this common civilisation nothing has remained except the languages. Certain thoughts, which are found every-

<sup>1</sup> Diod, i. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Purana of the Fish.

where, (such, perhaps, as that man is a son of dust,) may be claimed as a common inheritance from the early world—with certainty in those cases where the thought can be pointed out as already lying in the original structure of the language. But the gods, the worships, the mythi of the Greeks, in their distinctive character, assuredly belong to a totally different period,—a period of separate development, in which there was even no external, compact national whole. There was no Athenian virgin until an Athens arose in the Copaic plain,<sup>1</sup> or in Acte; and the Argive queen is hardly older than Argos.

But the benefit of studying other mythologies than the Greek, and that, too, for the elucidation of the latter, must not on this account be doubted for a moment. Mythologies of different nations, just because they are mythologies, stand in a closer relation to each other than to our modern unmythic modes of thought and representation; and the same process, the same epoch of development in the human mind, must in all admit of being pointed out in distinct characters. Now, the main thing is to enter into that mode of intuition; and certainly this cannot be better accomplished than by occupying ourselves with legends and mythi of *every* kind, and considering them on every side. From this point of view, therefore, I venture to address the following exhortation to the mythologist, without any apprehension that my words may be supposed to be uttered in jest: —“Above all things, call up to your mind a lively idea of the feeling with which the Nadowessian adores his Great Spirit at the murmuring stream,

<sup>1</sup> Orch., p. 123.



beside the waterfall; and fail not also to note the impression made by the ecstatic dance, the wild *charivari* of unharmonious music, the frantic gesticulations, with which the negro nations worship their gods. Then listen to the sounds of religious wisdom from India, (had we but the vedas in a readable translation!) and learn with astonishment how, in the region of the Ganges, a rich abundance of epic poesy bursts forth into bloom from the introduction of ideas regarding the divine Essence into primitive life; and consider, again, how all light is quenched in the horror and desolation of the worship of Shiva. Let not, I pray, the Zendavesta have brought for you, in vain, traces of sacred religion and regular Magian worship, down to late posterity; and Ferdusi shall show you, in still later form, how a heroic mythology must be formed under the dominion of dualism. And need I tell you how salutary it will be to you to make the god of the fathers of Israel your friend, the infinite creator of heaven and earth, who again, in the narrowest limitation, shares with the patriarchs all their domestic cares; whose pure and simple religion, although surrounded on all sides by the orgiastic worship of Baal, and brought into manifold contact therewith, is preserved in its essential character throughout long ages, and only slowly and never entirely degenerates; and concerning whom the glowing tongues of the prophets flash with inspiration, kindled by the priests of Chaldea into a still livelier flame. Behold, further, a hierarchy, a system of politics, a beneficent agriculture, nay, as it would appear, even a code of religious ethics, engrafted on the nature-worship of Egypt. And would you not

also take hints for your study, by observing how the gods, whom we only know from the north, because the north longest retained them, hold sway over a high-minded people; and how there, from ancient faith and remembrances of national migrations, combined with later relations and events, a heroic poesy blooms forth, which, in its main product, entirely severed from its original soil, stands out curiously in a strange world! How the Huns of Attila and of the tenth century—how among another people, the Spanish Arabs and the Saracens of the Promised Land flow together—how the crusades extend the ancient legendary cycles on every side,—all these considerations must also furnish you with hints for the treatment of Greek legends, if you reflect at the same time that there was naturally greater arbitrariness and freedom in this fantastic mode of handling mythi than in that of ancient Greece, which was locally restricted, and of a more sober and earnest character. Only roam on, therefore, all fearless, in the mazy garden of romantic chivalrous poesy, which drawing within its circle all that is glorious and inspiring, gave itself but little concern as to where its flowers originally grew. Nay, even the last forms of the mythical, the popular and nursery tale, which sports with the significant and mysterious; the stories of ghosts and enchantments; the Thousand and One Nights of Arabia; the Italian Novels, which Shakspeare chose for the groundwork of the most glorious poetry; our romances, which are told, in short, to kill time,—I would wish that nothing should be lost to you; and let no foolish fear of losing yourself restrain you

from the joy of wandering. Refresh and nourish yourself with this wine and these viands; let the spirit of the mythus, from all these manifestations, stir and quicken your fancy, and many a prejudice will vanish, many an analogy lead your study into new paths."

I may well speak thus, after having throughout thirteen chapters sought to show that the chief point in the historical knowledge of the mythus is the investigation of the *particular circumstances and relations* amidst which it was formed, and inasmuch as the entire book is opposed to the theory which would make the majority of mythi importations into Greece from the East. In order that this may be assumed of one even, distinct proof is required, either of so great internal agreement as only to be explained by transplantation or, secondly, that the mythus is utterly without root in the soil of Grecian local tradition, or, lastly, that transplanted is expressed in the legend itself.

It is understood that I can also follow this principle alone in the derivation of proper names. These, for the most part, grew up together with the mythi, and have an equally national and local origin. Some particular names may have come from without; but they will still be distinguishable as external, of foreign extraction: thus, for instance, the denomination of the Cimmerians may be Phœnician, just as well as Cinnamon, *κιννάμωμον*. But that can affect very little the internal tissue of Grecian tradition.

It can hardly admit of doubt that etymology is a main auxiliary in the explanation of the mythus. Every name which appears in mythology must desig-

nate either an actual or a merely imaginary person ; must be either a real *nomen proprium*, or an original *appellativum*. That it also contains names of the former class is indubitable. Everybody will admit this with regard to tribes, lands, and cities ; but Greek tradition must have also transmitted the names of heroes to posterity, as that of every other country has done, (witness the Attila of history and Ezzel of German legends.) On the contrary, what is not *person*, all cosmogonic beings, all gods, supposing that they were such originally, all dæmonic natures can only have names which in some way denote the idea of them, however generally it may be conceived : here, therefore, we *must* interpret. However, the separation of the one from the other in detail is much more difficult than it may appear in general ; because it first depends on the explanation of a mythus, to which also that of the name belongs, what portion of it is real and what imaginary ; and because the mere possibility of interpreting a name does not prove that the person who bears it did not exist. For, although indeed the current names of persons as well as places *do not* generally indicate their nature and character, yet this precisely may be often the case with mythic persons, without their being therefore devoid of reality, and that for two reasons : First, Because the earlier the period, the kind of activity was so much the more determined by descent ; and in a family of heroes, heroic, in a family of musicians, musical names prevailed.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, Because even on heroes who

<sup>1</sup> This is also in objection to the mythic invention of names which Welcker on Schwenck, p. 330, assumes, for example, in Ligyrtiades, Minnermus' father, and so forth. In other cases, it is really epigrammatic play.

really existed, their current names may have been first bestowed, perhaps merely by bards, during their lifetime, a practice pointed at by the traditions of double names borne by many heroes;<sup>1</sup> so that we can pronounce the name to be of poetical invention, without robbing the person of all existence. Neither are we to confound the play on names by the ancient bards with the poetical formation of names; and, for example, because Odysseus in the *Odyssey* calls himself him whom the gods ὀδύσαντο, seriously to derive the name from that word. All this, however, is not said with the least design of giving a colour to the superstition of those who see everywhere in mythology real proper names of real persons,—a belief which is at once disposed of by merely considering how easy it was for the ancient poet to provide a number of persons with fitting names, as Homer, for instance, shows extraordinary fertility in inventing names for Phæacian sailors;<sup>2</sup> nay, dexterity in the invention of names appears to have formed one of the ordinary constituents of poetical excellence. Hence, even in heroic mythology, persons, especially of subordinate rank, frequently appear, the entire idea of whom is exhausted by the name: thus, a hero who received Hercules is called the Receiver, Δεξαμενὸς; and a tyrant who applied the pines of Poseidon to the cruel purpose of tearing his victims asunder, was called the Pine-bender, Πιτυοκάμπτης,<sup>3</sup> &c. In this the Greeks were but too skilful; and even in the relation of historical events, with little trouble concealed their ignorance of the true name by invention. Thus

<sup>1</sup> Clavier, *Hist.*, i. p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.*, viii. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. above, p. 214 sq.

the Mantineans and Spartans called him who slew Epaminondas, Machæron, — a name which seems to be formed after that of Machæreus, the slayer of Neoptolemus.<sup>1</sup>

But with regard to those names which, since they denote nothing real, must evidently be significant; these, again, fall into several classes, nearly the same as those into which the mythi were above divided.<sup>2</sup> In the one, general ideas are very plainly and directly expressed with words which never died out in the language. I refer to *Μοῖρα*, *Χάρις*, "*Ωρα*, *Θέμις*, "*Ἥβη*, *Εὐρία*, and the like. These beings must either have been personified at a period when the language had already assumed its later structure and form; or the names were propagated in common usage together with the appellatives, because the signification always continued present to the mind. It accords with this view, that all these beings, although they were paid divine honours, had yet, properly speaking, no history of their worship by which they might be followed from place to place, like other deities. They were usually attached to the worship of the chief gods, and, on the whole, never attained the same degree of personality and individuality with the great Olympian deities. Even these were, indeed, at first only images, to which religious thought and invention gave birth, but which, as it were, entirely stepped forth from the creative mind and were separately embodied. With this is doubtless connected the circumstance that their names much less resemble appellatives,

<sup>1</sup> See Paus., viii. 11. 4. Comp. the mythus of the battle of Leuctra, Plat. *Amat. Narr.*, 3. Orch., p. 319, 8.

<sup>2</sup> P. 55 sqq.

and can only be explained from such by the assumption of all sorts of changes, transits of different tribes, and epochs of language; and that even then no such direct and comprehensive expression of an idea will be found in them as in the beings of the first class: (I may instance 'Απόλλων, the Averter; Δημήτηρ, the Earth-mother; Ἥρα, Queen.) To these must be next added a third class of mythological names,—those that sprang from the epic or earlier hymn-poetry, which, in general, announce themselves distinctly enough by their tone and colour. I reckon among these the Hesiodic names of the *individual* Hours, Graces, Furies, Fates, Gorgons, Harpies, Nereids, (except Thetis,) Ocean-nymphs, (with the exception of Διώνη, and also, perhaps, Στυξ, the Abhorred,) and many others in which usually the general idea of the species is carried out in the sense and spirit of the ancient bards.

Now, where it is absolutely necessary to interpret, nothing is certainly of more importance than to discard vague conjecture, and only to admit such transitions and alterations as are borne out by traces left in the language, or by clear analogies. Did we not know, for example, that the Latin D is often the same letter with the Greek Z, as in *radix*, ῥίζα, *odor*, ὄζω; and did not the Æolic Δεὺς stand between Ζεὺς and *deus*, we should also be ignorant that the Greek Ζεὺς signifies nothing else than *deus*. Did not Epicharmus and Sophron furnish us with the simplest form of the sea-god's name, viz., Ποτίδας,<sup>1</sup> the following, as I think, evident deriva-

<sup>1</sup> Gen. Ποτίδα. Herodian Π. μαν. λίζ, p. 10. Dor., vol. ii. p. 493.

tion of the word, could scarcely be laid down<sup>1</sup>:—Root, ΠΟΤΟΣ, fluidity, in πόντος, ποταμός, related to ΠΟΩ. Ποτίδας in the patronymic form, also Ποτειδας, Ionic Ποσίδης, (from which a temple of the god Ποσειδίου, the month Ποσιδηϊών in Ionia, Atticè Ποσειδεών,) and, by elongation, Ποτειδάων, Ποτειδάν, Ποσειδέων, Ποσειδών. But, alas! etymology is still a science in which blind guess-work is more practised than methodical investigation; and in which, because we wish to explain everything too soon, our labours more frequently result in confusion than elucidation. Yet such valuable service has been rendered by individuals on individual points, that there is no folly in hoping for still more important solutions from this quarter. Only we must urge that regularity be everywhere pointed out, inasmuch as language, in its formations, follows almost as strict laws of growth, transition, and metamorphosis as nature herself. Let not consonants be lightly interchanged, on account of their affinity; for precisely the finest distinctions which writing is incapable of expressing, are, with marvellous fidelity, held fast for thousands of years in the mouths of the people. This also would I require, that there should be no striving away beyond the proper roots in primitive form; you then sink into an abyss where no light penetrates. On the other hand, mythic names often lead to roots which are no longer extant; but must have evidently existed. There can be no doubt that Ζεὺς Ἀυκαῖος was so called from light;<sup>2</sup> but the real primitive

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Schwenk Etym. And., p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 328.



word is only in the Latin *lux*, although, in the Greek, *λευκός*, *λύχνος*, and other words, are derived from it. The sun's name, also, *Ἡλέκτωρ*, *ἤλεκτρον*, and the mythological name, *Ἡλέκτρα*, clearly refer to light. The derivation from "not to go to bed" is surely very far-fetched. Here we come back to the widespread root *ἐλα*, splendour. A complete comparison and analysis of all names, not merely mythological but also historical, (for these also, in great part, come down from the early world,) which cannot be explained from verbal forms in use, would certainly afford much light. The discovery of one leading root explains a crowd of names: thus, from *κάζω* *ορνο*, *κέκασμαι*, or *κέκαδμαι*, *ornatus sum*, *excello*, *Κάδμος*, the Former, *Εὐκάδμος*, the Well-former, *Κάστωρ*, the General, or also the Former, *Μηδεσικάστη*, the Wisdom-adorned, *Ιοκάστη*, the Violet-adorned, *Καστιάνειρα*, the Husband-adorned, *Επικάστη*, *Πολυκάστη*, *Παγκάστη*, and *Ἄκαστος*, the Unadorned, (to whom, therefore, his wife prefers Peleus,) are derived in the simplest manner.<sup>1</sup> Words and forms also, preserved merely in individual dialects, must be brought within the scope of this investigation: thus, from the later merely Laconic *χάος*, *χάϊος*, *ἀχάϊος*, good,<sup>2</sup> the Achæans as *ἀριστῆες*, and Demeter Achæa, as the good goddess, may, in my opinion, most easily admit of explanation. In particular, the laws of verbal formation, such as the earlier epochs of the language represent them, must be investigated. I here allude, for instance, to the practice of reduplication,—by which an adjective receives a more intensive signification, and

<sup>1</sup> Dor., vol. ii. p. 502.<sup>2</sup> Comp. Weleker's *Cadmus*, p. 23.

thereby becomes a proper name, as in *Σίσυφος*, from *σοφός*, *σύφος*,—to the patronymic forms, especially that in *ίων*, without patronymic signification, and the like.<sup>1</sup> And in a similar way with the peculiar laws of formal structure, which may be compared with those of crystallization, or others in nature, so must also the laws of *spiritual* evolution, of association of ideas, such as was natural and necessary to nations, be deduced from the affinity of words, and their different significations at different epochs; investigations which, if conducted to a clear and certain issue, must also throw a strong light on mythology.

As the matter, however, yet stands, in etymological interpretation above all others, the greatest caution is to be recommended; and it is hardly ripe enough to become the guide of investigation. Extremely much depends on *how we enter, and where we begin*. The names, too, as well as the symbols, are often ambiguous, and admit of various explanations. An example is afforded in *Αἰόλος*, who, indeed, on the one hand, certainly signifies the Wind-man, (as the Harpy *Ἀελλώ*, a Wind's bride;) but, as a Thesalian hero, he can, however, be scarcely anything else than the collective of the *Αἰολεῖς*.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, I must yet invite attention to the different mental activities by which, in decyphering the mythus, *both its elements*, Fact and Imagination, the Real and the Ideal, are recognised. I can scarcely arrive at a knowledge of the latter in any other way than by, in some measure, reproducing it

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Welcker's *Prometh.*, pp. 549, 551.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise Welcker on Schwenck, p. 320

in myself; as, indeed, I cannot otherwise conceive a work of art, a poem, nay, even a fact, if I look away from the mere external transaction. Now, it is easy to understand, that by reason of the strange intuition of the world upon which the mythus rests, as well as the singular mixture of thought, feeling, and fancy which is revealed in it, that this reproduction is not within the reach of every one, and that it requires a peculiar talent, a peculiar disposition, nay, even a peculiar dedication, although, from the fluctuation of judgment as to the right method of explanation, so many different opinions may be found in regard to this talent and disposition. This, however, is clear, that mere combination, and syllogism, however fine-spun it may be, may, indeed, lead *near to* the goal, but not *to* the goal; and that the final act, the real internal intelligence, demands a moment of inspiration, unusual exaltation, and an extraordinary coöperation of the mental powers, which leaves all calculation behind it.

It is otherwise with the Real in the mythus, if we regard it entirely as such, as something that happened externally. Yet there is a great variety of views as to the way and manner in which it is to be distinguished. It has, indeed, been said, "Let what cannot be conceived and explained as Idea, remain behind as Fact." Not bad, if the Ideal were but first separated, or could be separated, without the Real being determined at the same time. It is quite fruitless to hold by the external form: for that constantly deceives. Neither can the marvellous furnish a criterion, except in so far as it expressly exhibits invention and idea; but the non-marvellous, because

it is possible, is not, however, therefore real: for even the drapery which clothes the imaginary, might, from accident or internal necessity, keep within the bounds of the possible.

It is further to be remarked, that this Real, a matter of particular importance to us, is not in general by any means *directly communicated in the mythus*; nor can it therefore be left as a remainder when the Ideal is withdrawn. Actual adventures of heroes must also, indeed, be narrated in the mythus;<sup>1</sup> and nothing, at least now, prevents us from really believing that Agamemnon, a Mycenæan prince, and Achilles, a Phthiotic Hellenian, real persons, laid siege to the really existing city of Troy. But, in order to form an idea of the civilisation of the Grecian people, all dates which concern the relations and destinies of the Greek races are more important to us; and yet the mythus says very little expressly about them: inasmuch as, in accordance with the law of its origin, it puts the hero for the tribe, the former being often merely the collective of the latter. In like manner, the relations of the people to the religion can only be discovered from their products; in other words, we must nowhere expect the express mention that the tribe worshipped such a god since such a time, and brought his worship to such a place. The legend can merely inform us that the god begat and protected the ancient heroes of the race; that he led them on a perilous course to those shores where his temple still stands, and so forth. In short, we see the actual occurrences and circumstances contained in the mythus, only as in a concave mirror, from

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 9, and 225.

whose configuration we must discover, by calculation, the original form of the distorted image it presents.

It follows from this that we can find the most important transactions of the mythic period only through the explanation and combination of mythi. Without, therefore, comparing different mythi, and showing that they presuppose the same fact, complete certainty can scarcely be attained. Everything, indeed, here depends on the decision of how much is to be held as accidental; but this decision, also, is in many cases as sure and evident as can well be desired in an historical science. One example will make the matter clearer than a long train of general reasoning. If I learn that Apollo brought Cretans to Crissa, in order that they might administer for him the Pythian sanctuary; that the ancient Tilphossian altar of the god stood in a region where Cretans dwelt, according to native tradition; that there were in Lycia ancient Cretan settlements, and that the most notable worship of Apollo was established there; that the ancient citadel of Miletus was of Cretan foundation, and that here, at the same time, there was an oracle of Apollo; that the first mythic prophet of Clarus was called the son of a Cretan; that the landing of Cretans in Troas was said to have given rise to the worship of the Sminthian Apollo; that in Athens, the expedition of Theseus to Crete occasioned the establishment of several festivals in honour of Apollo, and still further data of the same kind from other quarters, I must be *utterly obtuse* in regard to all historical inquiry, if I would not draw the conclusion, that the Cretans in many places founded Apollinian rites. But I

*must also be a stranger to all knowledge of mythi*, were I to raise the objection, that no mythus makes that statement directly and in plain terms. Hence the coincidence of two real things, the Cretans and the worship of Apollo, is only at all capable of explanation on the supposition of a real relation, *i. e.*, the actual propagation of the worship by the tribe. Or we must entirely deny that all these were traditions, which, however, can be distinctly pointed out in several places; or, lastly, prove that such legends might perhaps have been introduced by a secret confederacy, whose design was to persuade everybody that the Cretans were the founders of Apollo's worship. He, however, who has reflected whether popular traditions can spring out of such persuasion, and has, besides, considered the great alterations which those traditions have undergone in the course of ages, as well as their deep local implication, will, before admitting such an idea, at least—demand the proof.

Combination, accordingly, can alone determine the value of legends for the ascertainment of facts; and in this field, therefore, it stands higher than all literary criticism, which is usually conducted in so one-sided a manner, inasmuch as it alone affords certain criteria by which the legend springing out of the fact itself may be distinguished from its poetical modification. Of this also but one example. That the Dryopians had come to the Peloponnesus from the regions of Southern Thessaly, lying around Cæta and the Spercheus, was a fact known to antiquity. Aristotle repeated the simple tradition that Dryops had con-

ducted them thither.<sup>1</sup> The ordinary heroic mythus was, that Hercules had expelled this people from the country of the Cætaic Dorians or their neighbourhood, and that they had therefore come to the Peloponnesus.<sup>2</sup> The following information, not, indeed, in contradiction to the prevailing tradition, but adding to it, however, a leading point, was *first* given by Pausanias,<sup>3</sup> viz., that Hercules dedicated the vanquished Dryopians to the Delphian god, and only led them to the Peloponnesus in compliance with his behest. He does not tell us expressly where he obtained this information: the Asinæans, who at that time lived in Messenia, told a different story; and I do not know any writer, except Servius, who gives exactly the same statement.<sup>4</sup> He says, *hi populi ab Hercule victi Apollini donati esse dicuntur*. We have, therefore, to prove the legend by itself, and independently of all literary authority. Now, we know that there are many other instances of entire tribes having been actually dedicated to Apollo,<sup>5</sup> and this might render the relation of Pausanias probable; but it may also be objected, that the legend was invented according to the analogy of existing circumstances. Secondly, By means of that relation the contradiction might be explained between the traditions, on the one hand, that the Dryopian prince, Leogoras, desecrated the sanctuary of Apollo, and the Dryopians made war on the Pythian temple; and, on the other, the historical fact that the worship of Apollo existed among the Dryopians in Argolis and

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. 373.

<sup>3</sup> IV. 34. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 283-288.

<sup>2</sup> Herod., viii. 43. Strabo, *ib.*

<sup>4</sup> Ad. Ænead., iv. 146.

Messenia,<sup>1</sup> where Virgil, in accordance with the epic poets of Greece, even makes them serve the God at the Delian altars.<sup>2</sup> This contradiction would, I say, be satisfactorily solved by the fact that the hostile tribe had been subject to him for a time, and the agreement is certainly not accidental; but it might still be said, that the story was just devised for the purpose of removing this contradiction, and the solution of the mythus is still by no means the correct one. This also granted, we beg that yet a third circumstance be considered. Although the relation in Antoninus<sup>3</sup> is otherwise very romantic, this much, however, is clear from it, that, in the ancient territory of the Dryopians at Thermopylæ, there were legends about an ancient Dryopian hero, Cragaleus, to whom sacrifices were also offered up at Ambracia; for, as is confirmed by Pliny and others, that place also was inhabited by Dryopians. Now, it is clear that this bears some relation to the tribe of Craugolidæ or Cragalidæ, (it does not appear to me improbable that it was also called Cragaleis,) which figures in the history of the sacred war (Ol. 47) in connexion with the Cirrhæans, and was, with these, extirpated by the Amphictyons, and rendered bondslaves to Apollo.<sup>4</sup> These were evidently therefore ancient Dryopians, Dryopians in Cirrhæa, entirely as in Pausanias, and, like the Cirrhæans themselves, doubtless formerly attached to the temple, but who had now revolted, and were at war with its

<sup>1</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 286<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Æneid, iv. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Æschin., v. Ctesiphon, 68. Harpoer. Κραυγαλλιδαι, whence Κραυγάλειον near Cirrha is referred to, according to Didymus and Xenagoras.



guardians. We could not, even had Pausanias said nothing of that dedication, avoid concluding something of the sort, from their very presence and their relations otherwise; and it is evident that what Pausanias relates is ancient tradition, and not, by any means, an invention of times in which the last trace of those Cirrhæan Craugalidæ had disappeared.

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#### CHAPTER XIV.

*Examples of the Method which has been laid down.*

ALTHOUGH, throughout this entire work, I am not aware of having left a single position of any importance without the elucidation and corroboration which *individual* instances supply, I shall, however, subjoin one or two others which may clearly exemplify, in a *general way*, the process whose principles I have thus far laid down. I select for that purpose, in the first place, the mythus of Apollo's servitude; because I have explained it elsewhere, but perhaps too briefly. At least, a thinking scholar, Hermann, in his preface to *Alceſtis*,<sup>1</sup> has reproached me with having attempted this explanation *incredibili quodam modo*; and he finds the chief ground of his charge in this, that I *more hodierno ad mysticæ religionis inexplicabilem doctrinam propenderem*. Per-

<sup>1</sup> P. xiv.

haps, if I advance step by step, I shall succeed in removing this reproach.

1. Admetus, son of Pheres, reigns at Pheræ, a city of Southern Thessaly. Apollo serves in his house and on his pastures, and even rescues him from the hands of Death in gratitude for his kindness. This was already told before Euripides by Æschylus;<sup>1</sup> but the bondage with Admetus was even known to Homer, for he ascribes the excellence of the horses of Eumelus, son of Admetus, to the training of Apollo.<sup>2</sup> The reason assigned by Pherecydes<sup>3</sup> for the bondage, was the wrath of Zeus, which Apollo incurred by killing the sons of the thunderbolt-forging Cyclopes, wherein he followed Hesiod; only that the latter mentioned the Cyclopes themselves, as do also Euripides and Apollodorus.<sup>4</sup> But either of them, according to these authors, were slain by Apollo, because Zeus had, with weapons forged by the Cyclopes, killed his beloved son Esculapius;<sup>5</sup> and the reason of this, again, was, that the miracle-working physician had, at that place, even recalled the dead to life, and thereby diminished the subjects of him who rules in the infernal world.<sup>6</sup> The myth-compiler referred to, related further, that the time of the bondage to which Apollo was compelled to submit by the command of Zeus, amounted to a *ἐνιαυτός*;<sup>7</sup> that is, a definite period,<sup>8</sup> as Apollo, with Poseidon, also served Laomedon, according to

<sup>1</sup> Eumenid., 713.

<sup>2</sup> Il., ii. 766.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Eurip. Alcest. 2 in Sturz, 2d edit.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Eurip. *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Athenagoras has preserved for us the Hesiodic verses referring to this, *Legat.*, p. 106, Oxf. Pindar, P. III. 57, imitated them.

<sup>6</sup> Pherecydes, and in the Schol. to Pindar, P. III. 96.

<sup>7</sup> Hence Apollod., iii. 10. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Orchem., p. 218 sqq.

Homer, for a *ἐνιαυτός*.<sup>1</sup> The established, and, in the ancient epic, frequently-recurring phrase is *Σητεῖν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν*. So much for the ancient legendary materials.

The first question is, What is here genuine ancient tradition, and what has been added by the authors who handed it down, particularly Hesiod and Pherecydes? Now, there are several reasons for inferring that the occasion of the slavery,—the destruction of the Cyclopes in order to avenge Esculapius,—was not a popular local tradition, but was derived from another cycle of legends, and introduced into the native legend in the process of elaboration. Esculapius had originally no connexion with Apollo. His worship and legends have entirely different localities, an entirely different history.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, the whole connexion of the legends has the appearance of being linked together from different traditions; nay, in the statement that Esculapius was slain because he restored the dead to life *at Delphi*, the modification of one fable for the sake of another is very clearly betrayed, as the traditions regarding the person resuscitated by Apollo were so numerous and diversified.<sup>3</sup> It might be said, on the other hand, that Pherecydes found *even this* in a local tradition, which must, of course, have been Delphian, because the scene of the whole fable, as given by him, is laid at Delphi. But we know that the Delphian legend deduced Apollo's bondage, not from the killing of the Cyclopes and Esculapius, but from the destruction of Python. Anaxandrides,<sup>4</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> Il., xxi. 444.    <sup>2</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 308.    <sup>3</sup> See above, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> In Schol. Eurip. *ib.*

Delphian writer, states that Apollo was obliged to serve because he slew the monster. This is still more strongly proved by the festal ceremonies of Delphi, which I have already described, and whose high and ante-historical antiquity I have demonstrated.<sup>1</sup> Every eight years the combat with Python was there represented by a boy; and when it was over, he set out by the sacred road for Tempe, in Northern Thessaly, in order to be there purified, and to return at the head of a Theoria to Delphi, with a laurel branch from the sacred valley. All this was dramatic representation of the mythus. Thus was the god Apollo himself said to have fled and made atonement.<sup>2</sup> Now, on the road to Tempe, the boy also represented the servitude of the god, as is stated by Plutarch;<sup>3</sup> and it is evident that in the mythus itself the bondage of Apollo in Thessalian Pheræ corresponded to this representation. Moreover, it can be shown, with tolerably clear evidence, that the sacred path, the ὁδὸς Πυθιάς, by which the boy travelled, really passed by Pheræ. It led from Delphi through Western Locris, through Doris, over mount Cēta, through the country of the Malians and Ænianians, and then it doubtless went through Phthiotis, stretching into the Pelasgian plain, and on by Larissa to Tempe.<sup>4</sup> Any one who possesses a geographical knowledge of the country will perceive that Pheræ also lay in the direction specified; the more so as, according to an allusion in Hesiod,<sup>5</sup> the hecatombs

<sup>1</sup> P. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Callimachus in Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.* c. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *De Defectu Orac.*, 15. αἱ τε κλάναι καὶ ἡ λατρεία τοῦ παιδὸς οἱ τε γινόμενοι περὶ τὰ Τίμωσιν καθαρμοί.

<sup>4</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 231 sq.

<sup>5</sup> The Shield, v. 477.

which were sent from Thessaly to Pytho were conducted past the Pagasæan sanctuary of Apollo, and Pagasæ lay only ninety stadia distant from Pheræ.<sup>1</sup>

By this means, then, we have already attained two objects: first, we have discovered, in the established form of the legend, what was merely contributed by literary treatment; and, secondly, we have also ascertained, at the same time, the real form and original connexion of the mythus as a Delphian local fable. It may, indeed, be objected, that neither is this the original one, and that it perhaps arose out of the amalgamation of a Delphian and a Pheræan legend; but this is discountenanced by the circumstance, that all its elements find their complete explanation in Delphian customs and institutions, and we have no need therefore to take refuge in anything else. We turn, therefore, after having established the original form of the legend, to its interpretation, in which it will be most clearly shown—and this is a main position in the present work—that its path is marked out with perfect certainty, when the circumstances which influenced the origin of the mythus are first ascertained. Here, in fact, all the individual points are completely cleared up by this method of procedure.

First, *Bondage itself as a punishment for murder.* It is certain that the entire law of expiation for blood emanated from Delphi, and from thence was the necessity of flight and purification determined.<sup>2</sup> Now, bondage also was formerly one of the conditions of purification, and restoration of the fugitive to his native land, as several mythi bear which could

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, ix. 436<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 350; ii. p. 241.

not be invented in the historical times, for this simple reason, that in these servitude no longer appears. The bondage of Hercules is almost always derived from a deed of bloodshed, and frequently through a Pythian oracle. Cadmus serves because he killed the dragon, in like manner according to a Delpho-Bœotian tradition, a perpetual year too, as Apollo-dorus says, (ἀίδιον ἐνιαυτὸν.) Now, the year at that time amounted to eight years. This octennial year is to be found in several mythi—sometimes more apparent and sometimes more latent—as an Apollinian feast-cycle, and, at the same time, as the period of exile and bondage for the blood-stained, the current expression for which in Greek was ἐνιαυτισμὸς and ἀπενιαυτισμὸς. It evidently comes from Delphi, where the journey of the boy to Tempe was also ennaëteric.<sup>1</sup> Consequently it is manifest, that the ἐνιαυτὸς also, of which Pherecydes speaks, (in like manner, probably, that in Homer,) is no other than the Delphian; especially as an epic poet, from whom Clemens Alexandrinus derives it, even used, in reference to it, the more definite expression μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν, *annum magnum*.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, the simple meaning of the mythus is this: As, in accordance with the eternal θέμις of Zeus, every one who has shed blood, even though justly, must leave his fatherland, and stay afar from his native gods, until he has made atonement for his guilt, and received purification; so must even the pure god Apollo, when he tainted himself with the blood of Python, a being of dæmonic nature, however

<sup>1</sup> Elian, *Var. Hist.*, iii. 1, ἱερεὺς ἐνάρου. Plutarch, *Quæst. Gr.*, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Strom. i. 323<sup>a</sup>.

just and necessary the combat might be, submit to the general laws of flight, bondage, and expiation, and undergo obscurity, in order that he might again appear as the φοῖβος, the ἄγνος θεός. The more exalted is he who must bow to the θέμις, the more is the θέμις glorified. The idea, therefore, out of which the necessity of atonement for bloodshed arose gave birth also to the mythus: religious usage and mythus are only different expressions of the same thought.

One thing, indeed, is in the dark, namely, why the servitude should be assigned to Phææ of all places. In a general way, it may be answered, because Phææ lay on the sacred path, the road to Tempe; but the reason why the expiation must be completed *there*, is to be found in the high consideration enjoyed by the sanctuary in the valley of the Peneus. Now, perhaps the sacred way was so distributed into certain stages of penitential pilgrimage, if we may use the expression, that the representation of the bondage fell exactly to Phææ; and in this way the mythus became connected with that place and its ancient heroes. However, I think I can give a far more satisfactory reason still. It is this: I imagine that the mythus was originally developed with a daring sublimity of fancy. The pure god, the fugitive from Olympus, as Æschylus says, was thrust down into the infernal world, as a punishment for slaying the earth-born Python. He was doomed to serve the king of the subterraneans. His degradation is thereby expressed in the strongest possible manner; for to Apollo, on other occasions, according to the belief of the Greeks, all corpses and the waves of Cocytus are

an abomination.<sup>1</sup> Now, Pheræ was a city of the subterranean deities. Hecate was there adored as Artemis Pheræa;<sup>2</sup> and it is evidently the same deity that filled with serpents the bridal chamber of Alcestis, because she had not sacrificed to her.<sup>3</sup> Persephone-Brimo, also, who rises with subterranean Hermes<sup>4</sup> from the lake Bœbeis hard by, is probably no other. Lastly, Clymene, or Periclymene,<sup>5</sup> the mother of Admetus, is in like manner a Persephone, as was observed above,<sup>6</sup> and it is superabundantly manifest that a sullen goddess of the nether world was worshipped at Pheræ. But "Ἀδμητος," "the indomitable," was doubtless like ἄδάμαστος,<sup>7</sup> an ancient appellative of Hades himself, who was worshipped in conjunction with that female deity, and the Ἀδμήτου μέλος originally nothing else than a *nænia*.<sup>8</sup> Now, therefore, the ancient legend was that Apollo served Hades Admetus: the boy who personated the god performed, on that account, various ceremonies to the Pheræan deities bearing reference to servitude. Afterwards, when Admetus, like so many other gods, descended into the sphere of heroic mythology, the service came to be viewed as having been rendered in the house and on the pastures of a hero. In the mythi of Admetus there still remain distinct traces of an ancient worship of the gods of the Dead; but I leave the reflecting reader to follow up these for himself, and only remark further, that if we assume as original tradition a descent of Apollo himself to

<sup>1</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 355.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 399, 6; besides, Lycophr. Cass., 1180.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod., i. 9, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Propert., ii. 2, 64.

<sup>5</sup> Orch., p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> P. 182.

<sup>7</sup> Il., ix. 158; and elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 339.



the infernal world, an unexpected light is thereby thrown on the fables, otherwise, indeed, extremely obscure, which speak of a death of the god Apollo. To this refers what Mnaseas of Patara communicates in Fulgentius:<sup>1</sup> "*Apollinem, postquam ab Jove ictus atque interfectus est, a vespillonibus ad sepulchrum elatum esse.*"<sup>2</sup>

2. Another example may be drawn from an entirely different, and, indeed, one of the darkest legendary cycles of Grecian mythology, the mythus of Perseus and the Gorgons. I will first relate the main fact after Pherecydes,<sup>3</sup> from whom Apollodorus excerpts,<sup>4</sup> and whose chief sources were probably Hesiodic lays; (for that he drew from an ancient epic poet, is proved even by the accurate agreement with Pindar,<sup>5</sup> who, in *his* relation, assuredly does not follow Pherecydes.)<sup>6</sup> Acrisius king of Argos shuts up his daughter Danaë in a brazen tower, on account of a threat that death would come upon him from her offspring. But Zeus streams down to her from heaven in a golden shower, and begets by her Perseus. Mother and child are enclosed in a chest, and thrown into the sea. Dictys of Seriphus rescues them from the waves; but his brother, Polydectes, king of the island, wishes to take Danaë to himself. He pretends that he is going to woo Hippodamia, the daughter of CEnomaus, and calls upon his vassals, on occasion of a banquet, to fit him out for the bridal

<sup>1</sup> *Expos. Serm. ant.* p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> *Comp. Porphy. Vita Pythag.*, 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Fragm.* 2. p. 72 sqq.; 10. p. 90 sqq. Sturz.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 4, 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *P.* xii. 11 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> *Comp. Shield*, 216; *Theog.*, 274; *Homer, Il.*, xiv. 318.

journey.<sup>1</sup> Now, when he demands a horse from each, Perseus, who was by this time grown up, says to him, as it would seem in anger, that he should have the Gorgon's head. Polydectes takes him at his word, and threatens, if he fail, that he will take his mother. Perseus undertakes the adventure with the help of the gods. With the shoes of Hermes, and the shield of Aides, he flies invisible over sea and land to Oceanus at the end of the world, where he finds the Gorgons; and looking only at the reflection of Medusa's petrifying countenance in his shield, succeeds in severing her head from the trunk, and places it in his pocket reversed. But Pegasus and Chrysaor spring forth from the body. On returning home, he turns Polydectes and his people to stone, and then gives the Gorgoneion to his protectress Athena, who fixes it upon her shield. An extraordinary tale of wonder, indeed, which, if told in our times, might well be thought the mere play of a grotesque fancy; but for higher antiquity that idea is inadmissible. It will scarcely answer to determine at the outset what portion of it is popular tradition, and what poetical embellishment. The whole has an equally fantastic and fictitious appearance; and although we know that the mythus of Perseus was in its native soil at Argos, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, still that does not lead us to the interpretation, unless we also learn, besides, what circumstances, relations, and institutions of the ancient Argives, gave rise to the mythus, or coöperated in its creation. If we succeed in determining these, though only in the leading points of the mythus, we can then hope to

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Wolcker, *Prometh.*, p. 381.

take up more and more threads, and, in the end, to unravel the whole. Now, the main point is manifestly the cutting off the Gorgon's head by Perseus. With regard to this Gorgonian head, Γοργεῖη κεφαλὴ, it can be easily perceived that it was a far-famed bug-bear in ancient Greece. The Γοργόνειον is nearly in the mythus what the *μορμολυκεία* are in later nursery tales. Odysseus fears to admit more shades from the infernal world to the blood-drinking, lest Persephoneia might also send forth on him the Gorgonian head of the terrific monster. The Gorgoneion, accordingly, was a creature sprung from terror of the gods, who, as experience taught, send evil as well as good. But the Gorgon is almost always introduced with reference to Athena. As early as Homer, Athena is armed with "the Gorgonian head of the terrible monster, the dreadful, the appalling, the prodigy of Ægis-shaking Zeus."<sup>1</sup> The very mythus which we are examining, closes with saying, that Athena places the Gorgon's head on her ægis, and through her also did Perseus accomplish the feat.<sup>2</sup> But this cannot well be a deliberate extension of the legend, a deduction from the rest, particularly for this reason, that the head and blood of the Gorgon figure in the popular legends of various districts, in connexion with the worship of Pallas, without even any mention being made of Perseus. The earth-born Erichthonius, according to the Attic tradition in Euripides,<sup>3</sup> was said to have received from Pallas two drops of the Gorgon's blood, the one having power to kill, the other to cure. It is told

<sup>1</sup> Il., v. 738.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, P. x. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Ion, 1018.

there that Athena herself slew the Gorgon, in the Phlegræan gigantomachy, where the reference to the general battle of the gods may not be the oldest portion of the narrative.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, they fancied at Tegea, where there existed from the earliest times a worship of Athena, that they had hairs of Medusa, which the goddess had given to Cepheus, the hero of the city, and which they only required to show from the wall to a besieging army, in order to scatter it in flight.<sup>2</sup> Nay, the relation between Athena and the Gorgon is so close, that both are even taken for one mythic form, the goddess herself being called Gorgon by Euripides,<sup>3</sup> and in several other authors. Whence we may venture to conclude, that the Gorgon was imagined to be a hostile Pallas who could sometimes be united with her, as Demeter is called Erinnyes, and Persephone Brimo and Dæira, and sometimes regarded as an antagonist being, detested by the goddess herself.

The Argive worship of Pallas, therefore, is the leading circumstance in the creation of the mythus. The goddess had her temple beside Zeus Larissæus, on the summit of the citadel, which was fortified by Perseus with Cyclopean walls. She was thence called Athena 'Ακρία or Ακρίς.<sup>4</sup> According to tradition, Acrisius himself lay buried in the temple of Acria,<sup>5</sup>—a coincidence of names too remarkable for me not to prefer the interpretation thereby sug-

<sup>1</sup> V. 1006.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., viii. 47. 4. Apollod., ii. 7. 3, where Hercules forms the connecting link.

<sup>3</sup> Helena, 1316, and the Frag. of Erichtheus.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan., ii. 24, 4. Comp. Hesych. s. v. 'Ακρία.

<sup>5</sup> 'Εν Λαρίσση ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Clem. Alex. Protr., p. 29, Sylb.

gested to any other.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, the fable of the taming of Pegasus by Bellerophon, according to Pindar's account, is wholly connected with the sanctuary of Pallas Hippiia at Corinth.<sup>2</sup> There was also in Seriphus a temple to Athena, where Perseus was said to have been reared.<sup>3</sup> On that island, as appears from Pausanias,<sup>4</sup> he was paid divine honours, as *πάρεδρος* of the goddess;<sup>5</sup> and, moreover, as the coins of the island almost invariably refer to the Corintho-Argive worship of Pallas, the opinion<sup>6</sup> is not improbable, that its earlier inhabitants were derived from those regions. If so, then the entire connexion of Seriphus and Argos in the mythus is explained.

However much all this may serve to strengthen the position laid down, still it does not open for us the way to the explanation of the mythus, because we know nothing yet of the character of that ancient worship of Athena. Now, we may at once assume, that the ideas of the Homeric poesy are here inapplicable, and that we must rather call to aid the ancient legends of the neighbouring Athenians, which, at all events, give the idea of a deity, through whom the produce of the fields, and the children of men receive nourishment, light, warmth, and increase, growing up and blooming under such benign in-

<sup>1</sup> Even to that of Welcker's Prometh., p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Böckh, *Expl.*, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Hygin., f. 63.

<sup>4</sup> II. 18, 1.

<sup>5</sup> For I think that the whole sentence must be read,—*ἔχει μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα [ἐν Μυθήναις] τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσχωρίων, μεγίστας δὲ ἔν τε Σερίφῳ, οὗ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηνᾶ Περγασίως τίμενος, καὶ Δίκτυος καὶ Κλυμένης Βωμὸς σωτήρων καλουμένων Περγασίως.*

<sup>6</sup> Of Spanheim, *De Pract. Num.* i. p. 265.

fluences.<sup>1</sup> Even yet traces of such ideas present themselves in the Argive mythus of Danaus; and it is a certain rule that we must be so much the more careful in turning all such traces to account the less they harmonize with later ideas. Danaus, the parched field of Argos, suffers through the contest between Poseidon and Athena, until the former impregnates his daughter, the fountain Amymone, and fills the lake of Lerna; but, throughout his whole life, he was protected by the goddess, and on this account, even built her at Rhodes a famous sanctuary, which was transplanted into various colonies. Nay, it seems to me clear, that the Rhodian legend of the golden rain of Zeus at the birth of Athena, is nothing else than a transference and modification of the Argive tradition that Perseus was begotten by a golden shower, the latter having been carried over from the mother-city.

Now, I think we already see the path we must enter, in the interpretation of the mythus, distinctly traced before us, especially by the main position: Perseus a dæmonic being in close union with the ancient Argive Pallas, as a goddess who blessed the land with fruitfulness. His dæmonic nature is proved, not only by his wonderful achievements, but also in the clearest manner by the divine worship which he received in Seriphus and Argive Tarsus.<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps on account of the latter that Æschylus places the Gorgonian fields in the east, as the Libyan worship of Pallas occasioned another nearly opposite transplantation of the mythus.

<sup>1</sup> *Minerv. Poliad.*, i.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 173.

But in the interpretation itself let us not require an allegorical explanation of every individual feature of the legend, for precisely thereby would its falsity be immediately shown. Only the signification of the main features is to be pointed out; the rest was afterwards naturally formed on these, just because the whole is a *μῦθος*.

The dry sealed up soil in the land of Pallas, *Δανάη* 'Ακρисиῶνη, thirsts for rain, and Zeus, the father of life, descends into its bosom in fructifying, bounteous, and therefore golden shower, in like manner as the cloud in which Zeus embraces Hera, is called in Homer, a golden one from which glittering dew-drops fall.<sup>1</sup> The child of this connexion is *Περσεύς*, an obscure name of which I have seen no satisfactory explanation; but this much, however, seems to be clear, that *Περσεφόνη*, the daughter of Zeus by the Earth-mother, is from the same root. Perseus is the favourite of the fruit-producing Pallas, also a merely imaginary, not an externally-existing being, a *Genius Palladis*. But the god of the nether world, called the Much-receiver, *Πολυδέκτης* also *Δίκτυς*, the Catcher, for both brothers probably signify the same thing, wishes to take *Δανάη* to himself. The night of chaos and eternal horror is about to overshadow her. This danger is averted by Perseus delivering the goddess from her anti-type, the dreadful *Γοργώ*, through whom the moonbeams become baleful, and the soil is turned to stone. The influence of her look is turned upon the infernal world itself, and its circuit fastened in the deep; while, at the same time, her full power is restored to the benign

<sup>1</sup> Il., xiv. 351.

goddess, the kindly nurse of seeds and plants. Then spring up the clear and living fountains, of which the horse is the symbol,—as, in general, so Pegasus in particular, who was born at the fountains of Oceanus, was caught beside fountains, struck out fountains with his hoofs, in his name also a horse of fountains. Polydectes' demand of horses, and then the procuring of one by Perseus, are also a remnant of the symbolical legends.

Accordingly, this mythus may be called a physical one—as that previously examined may be called ethical—if we only discard the idea of instruction in the powers of nature. The operations of nature are conceived by a powerful fancy, and introduced into the creed of the deity; and thence arises a dæmon-story, which afterwards passed into the heroic mythus. I have designedly avoided too particular references, although even the ancients interpreted in this sense. Thus the Orphici explained the *Γοργόνειον* to be the *facies in orbe lunæ*, with which then Aristotle's interpretation of Pallas as the moon would very well agree;<sup>2</sup> but although this interpretation manifestly suits some expressions of that deity's nature, I fear, however, that it still oftener leaves us in the lurch, and proves too narrow and restricted; and I bring the principles above advanced here also into application.<sup>3</sup> But the mythus is thoroughly symbolical; and as to its age, some idea may be formed from this, that even in the time of Homer and Hesiod it had become ordinary heroic fable.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex., Strom. v. p. 571<sup>b</sup>. Comp. Eschenb. *Epig.*, p. 7. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Min. Pol.*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> P. 183.



The symbolical character gives it a peculiar representability, and attracted elder art, which was still able to represent but little by expression and characteristic portraiture. Hence, a Gorgoneion, as a work of the Cyclopes at Argos;<sup>1</sup> the Gorgonea, as impressions on very old Attic, even Etruscan, coins; scenes from the combat of Perseus on the coffer of Cypselus,<sup>2</sup> and among the brazen reliefs of Gitiadas;<sup>3</sup> Perseus cutting off the Chimæra's head, and Chrysaor springing forth, in a very ancient terracotta;<sup>4</sup> and the rising up of Pegasus, in a relief of a very early style, found at Selinus.<sup>5</sup>

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## CHAPTER XV.

*Comparison of the Theories of Others with that which has been here unfolded.*

READERS who have duly weighed the foregoing sections, may now, it seems to me, find themselves in a twofold situation. To many the theory and mode of treatment which have been presented, will, I hope, have appeared correct; and the conviction arisen in their minds, that from a simple consideration of the materials supplied by history, in the first place, obser-

<sup>1</sup> Paus., ii. 20. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ib., v. 18. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ib., iii. 17. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Millingen, *Monum. ined.* N. 5, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Treatise by Pisani. Compare with reference to the whole of this treatment of the fable, besides the brief notices in the Dorians, vol. i. p. 412, the profound and ingenious views of Völcker in his *Mythology of the Japetidæ*, p. 200 sqq.

vations which possess general evidence, and then positions of more weighty import, but still at the same time in close connexion with the former, have been here unfolded. Others, on the contrary, who have come to the perusal entertaining views considerably at variance with those here presented, have perhaps nowhere found themselves under the necessity of abandoning them,—which must be the case with all those who are no longer conscious to themselves of the ground of their opinions; but many, perhaps, see through weaknesses and defects in my method of treatment which have still escaped myself. Both classes of readers may require that I should now also lay before them the views of other inquirers, and point out wherein they differ from mine: the former, in order that they may see whether each theory has not perhaps equal claims to probability; the latter, in order that I may in some measure justify myself to them for presenting at all, in addition to these theories, a new one of my own. But I must always confine myself to indications merely of what is most characteristic in each theory, instead of indulging in minute exposition or exhaustive criticism: the latter, indeed, would be presumptuous; and this attempt at a comparison, as conceived in my mind, is certainly not so. As I mean particularly to exhibit the opinions and principles which prevail at the present time, and that, too, in Germany, I shall begin with Heyne, who has at all events given a new impetus to the study, and perhaps also laboured most to advance it; but it is not my object to make a general and comprehensive survey: and no one must lay particular stress on the circumstance, that only six scholars are adduced, whose ideas of the

science presented themselves to me more distinctly and definitely than any others. In conformity with the above explanation, I pass by the Euhemerism of Larcher, Clavier, Raoul-Rochette and Petit-Radel; perhaps I ought not to do so, if Böttiger<sup>1</sup> had already laid down his views in connexion, with their proofs methodically arranged.

*Heyne. (1)*

The foundation of a mythus is either the report of an event, or a notion of earlier humanity;<sup>2</sup> (2) accordingly, mythi may be divided into historical and philosophical. (3) But the origin of the mythus cannot be conceived, unless we assume that this mode of representation was necessary to a certain very remote period—that it could not on many subjects express itself otherwise than mythically. (4) The mythus, therefore, was the infant language of the race. Poverty and necessity are its parents. (5) Proper expressions, precisely corresponding to the idea, were still wanting to that age. The mind, struggling through and bursting forth, felt itself, as it were, straitened and confined.<sup>3</sup> Accustomed to occupy itself merely with sensible impressions, it sought about for external images; and thus were ideas, particularly of a religious kind, transformed into symbols and narrations of external events. The *sermo symbolicus et mythicus* arose. For to cause, they then said to beget, and expressed a host of other relations by the same figure,—and in this way came the *concupitus deorum* into mythology;<sup>4</sup> and here it is easy

<sup>1</sup> Amalthea, i. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Commentat. S. G.*, xiv. p. 143; and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> *N. Commtr.*, viii. p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Commentat.*, ii. p. 136.

to observe, that the myth-inventing age did not yet possess the morality and delicacy of a later period.<sup>1</sup> But the expression became gradually confounded with the thing; the error crept in, that these narrations contained actual occurrences, and was fostered by the priests in order to excite greater interest.<sup>2</sup> (6) Only those narrations of the most ancient times, which arose from incapacity, can be, strictly speaking, accounted mythi. In interpreting them, we must transport ourselves back into the manner of thought and expression which belonged to that remote period, and not go to work with too much subtlety and ingenuity. The interpretation must content itself with undefined resemblances, inasmuch as the mythus frequently unites even things the most different, by an accidental combination of ideas, by an ingenious play of wit. (7) The oldest are the physical, and then the theogonic mythi; from these were gradually unfolded the worships of the gods, religions.<sup>3</sup> (8) Every allegorical personage is called *ἑὸς*. (9) The poets, who did nothing more for a long time than relate, embellish, and alter mythi, afterwards made use of them as materials on which they might practise their art, and by which they might attain their end—the gratification of their hearers; as pleasing fancies, (*phantasmata*;) (10) *they* first added to them grace and elegance. The *sermo mythicus* now becomes *poeticus*: for the poet does not now employ those forms by compulsion, but with discrimination and perception of beauty. Thus Homer even, in order to adorn his poems, took from older

<sup>1</sup> *Exc. ad Il.*, xxiii. p. 565.

<sup>2</sup> *Comp. Exc. i. ad Il.*, viii.

<sup>3</sup> *Committ.*, xiv. p. 148.

cosmogonies and theogonies, fables which were devised in order to convey physical doctrines in a sensible manner, and related them as actual histories.<sup>1</sup>

(11) To him they were nothing more than splendid and imposing pictures. Hesiod was contented to unite existing and heterogeneous fables into one poem, to arrange these in the best way he could, and to render them attractive by poetical ornament.<sup>2</sup> (12) Mythi have been variously disfigured, partly by means of the poets, especially the lyric and dramatic; partly by the industry of prophets, *ciceroni*, and sacrificial priests; partly by philosophical interpreters, and mythological systems. The mythic expression itself has also varied in different ages: we must therefore proceed with the utmost caution before we can regard a mythus as restored to its original form. (13) And even then the interpretation is still very hazardous; for an authentic interpretation is not to be expected, as the ancient transmitters already took it for a reality; and those who followed, explained more into than out of it. (14)

(1.) Without being able to promise here the substance of all the mythological writings of Heyne, scattered over a great many years, (they begin with 1763, and continue till 1807,) I have, however, read the greater part in order to write these pages; the most copious is the last treatise, (*Sermonis mythici seu symbolici interpretatio ad causas et rationes ductasque inde regulas revocata, Commentat. S. G. V., xvi.,*) which I have therefore not quoted before in detail.

(2.) Exactly so above, p. 9; in addition to which I only remark, that to the myth-creating people of course *both appeared as homogeneous*,—otherwise they could not have so come together,—namely, as the statement of actual things in the present or past.

(3.) Compare, on the contrary, p. 12.

(4.) The fundamental position of the whole inquiry, in my opinion.

<sup>1</sup> *N. Commtr.* viii. p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Committ.*, ii. p. 135.

(5.) On the contrary, p. 20.

(6.) According to Heyne, therefore, the framers of the mythus knew that the narrations which they communicated *were merely form*; for example, that there was not, and never had been, a Zeus in personal shape: on the contrary, see p. 50 and 59. In this way, all true faith is really destroyed, and appears as misapprehension of original enlightenment.

(7.) One might greatly misunderstand this, and justify to one's self every interpretation, however foolish. Why might not some one in ancient times have some such notion? An explanation is certainly so much the better the more it removes the accidental.

(8.) On the contrary, p. 60 and 168.

(9.) On the contrary, p. 183.

(10.) I think that such indifference for the materials is entirely foreign to the ancient Grecian world. Hesiod, Eumelus, &c., certainly took the thing more in earnest.

(11.) Compare the views opposed to this in the Appendix on Homer.

(12.) Compare, on the contrary, the Appendix on Hesiod.

(13.) An excellent principle at all events, only that Heyne has never taken the trouble of exhibiting its application in lengthened investigations.

(14.) And yet Heyne has even shown himself at last not altogether unfavourable to the purely physical interpretations of the Stoics in Homer.

# Voss. (1)

Μῦθος, from which it has been tried to palm off mythus for an emblematic tale, signifies a word, saying, relation, and nothing more.<sup>1</sup> (2) However, there are doubtless also, in what we call mythology, results of reflection. So soon as man lifted his eyes from the nourishing acorn to the oak, and reflected whence it and himself, the eater, had arisen, the sensible idea forced itself on him, that "Everything had sprung from earth, water, and air, and these from the separation

<sup>1</sup> Antisymb., p. 198.

of a shapeless, confused mass of rude primary materials." Powers so efficacious, he further thought, must contain in themselves an original power, and powers dependent thereon; and these indwelling spirits assumed to him the form of personages in human shape. (3) This is the origin of the mundane fables related by Hesiod and others, and which were in circulation even before Homer.<sup>1</sup> He who will call these earliest (4) narrations allegorical, because moral and natural objects appear as acting persons, may do so; (5) only let him not try to explain every individual action performed by them as persons from the properties of the original being. Far less, still, can this be permitted in reference to the younger possessors of the ancient dignities of nature, (6) who were gradually elevated from the deified ancestors of the different tribes. (7) They govern in the manifold spheres of external and moral nature. They assume, indeed, properties of their administration, as Poseidon of the stormy sea, Aides of the dreadful realm of shadows, &c.; but they are independent personages, acting according to their own caprice and humour. (8) Among the most ancient hordes there were individual and associated teachers of wisdom, so much wiser than the mass, that they clothed ideas, far more exalted and spiritual than the common mind or language could even seize, in deeply significant emblems for the wondering people.<sup>2</sup> (9) Secular wisdom and priestcraft—the former with benevolent aim, the latter with cunning design—introduced a more rational meaning into the ancestral forms of adoration; (10) as notions continued grow-

<sup>1</sup> Myth. Briefe, p. 13 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 15 sq.

ing less rude, they gradually passed over into spiritual ideas of virtue and honesty: the hero and the god rose from physical violence to wise and beneficent power. Homer himself was more godlike than his gods; but as a layman he dared only touch gently the ancestral ideals of perfection which the sacrificer adored.<sup>1</sup> He worshipped the gods of Olympus from Thracian (11) tradition; but softened, so far as statutes and popular delusion admitted, the primitive rudeness of the governors of the world,—still half-sylvan Bringers of Good and Averters of Evil. Zeus was the sublimest ruler of the world, as Homer had the boldness to imagine or express him. (12) Thus did the Greeks advance by cultivation from the appreciation of brute force to a feeling of the human, the superhuman, the divine. After Homer, echoes of the Mosaic doctrine of the creation, the deluge, the glory of the gods, and man's origin from clay, came through the Phœnicians to Greece, where we find them in Hesiod and the Hymn to Demeter.<sup>2</sup> In the interval between Hesiod and the tragic authors, mythology was modified in manifold ways; partly by geographical extension of the ancient heroic adventures; partly by the admixture of foreign with native gods and usages, and the accidental elevation of rude deities of tribes to national gods; partly by the alterations of sculptors in the form of the gods; by wise men, who, feeling in themselves a sublimer deity than the dæmons of the people, taught the initiated plainly, and the people by indirect interpretation; and lastly by priests.<sup>3</sup> A secret union of Orphici, whose agency became visible

<sup>1</sup> Myth. Br., p. 15-21.

<sup>2</sup> Antisymb., p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Myth. Br., p. 44.



from the 30th Olympiad, fraudulently engrafted on the faith of Greece a religion miscreated in Phrygia and Egypt, and united, under Darius, with the Persian worship of the sun;—a shocking medley. Olen, Pamphus, Musæus, and Onomacritus, were the active members of this secret fraternity, which tried to turn the light won from Judæa, and through philosophy, after perverting it by the most shameful inventions, to the personal advantage of a greedy priesthood.<sup>1</sup> (13)

(1.) In the representation of the views of this inquirer, I fear much that I have not always rightly seized his meaning; for in the Mythological Epistles, as well as in his Antisymbolism, he very seldom lays down positively his ideas of the manner in which mythic narrations arose. I have, therefore, been even obliged to admit many negations into the above representation, as his true and proper view may, perhaps, be gathered thence.

(2.) In the oldest use of the language certainly, although no longer in Plato, Aristotle, and the Alexandrian authors.<sup>2</sup> The word is always the oldest and best, to denote the materials of ancient poetry and art, which antiquity, at all events, imagined to be in many respects homogeneous. But for that very reason must the idea be taken so widely, that the emasculation of Uranus, and the adventures of Odysseus, may both fall under it.

(3.) Certainly not. Uranus is by no means to Hesiod a Being living in Heaven, in human form, but the entire Heavens conceived as living, active and personal;<sup>3</sup> and just so is it with all theogonic beings. Even that is perhaps only a bringing in of new views, that the idea of powers must have floated before the primitive man ere he formed out of them divine persons.

(4.) On the contrary, pp. 60, 168.

(5.) On the contrary, p. 62.

(6.) I think, also, that much truth lies in this, only in another sense. These beings have, as objects of worship, that is, as *beings with whom hundreds of thousands were conversant for many centuries, in many different places, and under definite but manifold relations*, attained a character whose original foundation

<sup>1</sup> Antisymb., p. 155, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. pp. 1, 44.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 2.

can only with difficulty be unriddled, and are anything but allegorical.

(7.) Then is religion at once at an end, and there merely remains a sort of philosophy and history: for those primary beings were not (if we do not reckon some insulated and less important usages) objects of worship, and never had been, as can be shown. But according to this view, Zeus and Hera, &c., were human beings. Before their hero-worship was exalted to a god-worship, the Pelasgians, therefore, devoured acorns, and gave themselves little concern about Zeus. But what if Ζεύς is nothing else than the full idea of the Divine Being concentrated in a person? p. 182.

(8.) In the poet to wit, and not even that, strictly speaking; as he also must always have had a definite ground for making *this* god act here, and *that* there.

(9.) Compare the similar view, p. 51.

(10.) But how did they spread it abroad, and procure it acceptance?

(11.) Only *in so far* as they are Olympian gods, p. 159; or did Ζεύς Δωδωναῖος, Ἀργεῖν Ἥην, and Ἀλαλκομένης Ἀθήνη also come to him from thence?

(12.) Not Homer first, see p. 186; and as to the rudeness of the Homeric gods, see the Appendix.

(13.) Against this position, see the Appendix on the Orphici; compare the Review of the *Antisymbolik*, in the *Göttingen Review*, 1825. I know not whether, after all this, I understand aright the meaning of this highly meritorious mythologist; and would, therefore, only ask if it is really this? The mythi of Greece—the cosmogonic excepted—were originally relations of actual deeds performed by all sorts of rude, immoral tribe-leaders, who were, however, highly esteemed by their still more barbarous times, and were afterwards partly regarded as deities. It is foolish to look for a meaning in them. The original is a fact that was afterwards taken up by arbitrary poetry, which also gradually fashioned out of those rude tribe-idols whatever it chose, and the times required. If so, then Voss is directly opposed, not only to Heyne and Creuzer, but to all the other inquirers here named.

*Buttmann.* (1)

Nothing is more erroneous than to consider the wonderful actions and events of the mythic world as

the accidental offspring of a rich and variously endowed imagination going forth in search of the marvellous. Of this nature is the invention of our modern tales of wonder ; but it is entirely foreign to that simple and primitive age which invented nothing with design, but merely contemplated, learned, and again figuratively represented. An immense number of such allegorical, and other myathi, were in circulation, and, in process of time, became so united, that by degrees they assumed a causal dependence on one another, and only slight connecting touches, which the muse suggested, were here and there required to form the chain.<sup>1</sup> (2) These myathi had arisen in various places, partly in Greece, and partly in the East, as manifold expressions of manifold ancient ideas, originally without any other connexion than that which the mode of thinking which lies at the bottom of them supplied. Insulated legends formed themselves into groups, were transferred into other cycles, and the most heterogeneous materials confusedly mixed up together. (3) That thousand-tongued mythology of the Greeks then knew already how to unite, in outward form, matters that now directly destroy each other, and now are the same ten times over.<sup>2</sup> The birth-time of fables in general lies in higher, nay, in highest antiquity, partly even before the separate development of individual nations.<sup>3</sup> It must not be confounded with the time of the oldest poetical narration, so far as we are concerned, in the interval to which, again, there stretches out a wide field of poetical industry, whose *products* have

<sup>1</sup> Berlin Acad., 1814-15, über Kronos, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> P. 169.

<sup>3</sup> 1816, über Noahs Söhne, p. 146.

only come to us in fragments through Homer and Hesiod.<sup>1</sup> (4) To the later poets, such as the tragedians, fell merely the task of expanding and developing the traditionary mythi; and it adapted itself to the requisite mode of treatment, and to the kind of poetry.<sup>2</sup> In these circumstances, we must not expect that we shall be able to establish and explain every mythological invention. It is best to inquire, in the first place, for the greater and more prominent points; and among the smaller, for those which seem to bear traces of a severed or neglected connexion.<sup>3</sup> (5) Analogy is an important means of interpretation. A successful analogy gives us assurance of the otherwise equivocal aid derived from the explanation of names,<sup>4</sup> which can alone completely enlighten us as to the true sources;<sup>5</sup> therefore, also, in order to obtain analogies, we must not neglect the comparison either of oriental or northern legends. By such comparison we can go so far as to wrest the legends, so to speak, from the authors through whom we know them, and to separate what they added from the genuine nucleus.<sup>6</sup> A great portion of mythology now bears an historical impress without at all containing history in the strict sense. Natural objects, general ethical ideas, national races and gods, (as has been lately shown in regard to Hippolytus,) stand amidst heroes: down to the so-called expedition of the Heraclidæ, there is not a single distinct historical personage; even the history of

<sup>1</sup> P. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Berl. Acad., 1818, über Elektron, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Kronos, p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> I. 1818, Verbindungen mit Asien., p. 216; 1820, Minyæ, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> 1816, Janus, p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> Noahs Söhne, p. 145.

that expedition was only composed from epically-handled legends at the dawn of scientific history.<sup>1</sup> The whole of elder Greek history, till about the time of Pisistratus, is but a scientific product drawn from a few monuments, and many legends and epopees, with a criticism which we can no longer revise.<sup>2</sup> (6) However, we must carefully separate the period preceding history, in which, perhaps, there was already real though uncertain tradition,—the time to us scanty in deeds from the expedition of the Heraclidæ downwards,—from that rich-streaming fabulous tradition which, with sudden change of character, begins from that point upwards, and in which all chronology is impossible, (7) as here lie only the mythic beginnings and antiquities of the tribe, composed, not of continuous historical threads, but of mere insulated narrations of deeds and events which continued to be repeated only on account of the amusement or instruction they conveyed, or the national praises they contained. Nothing historical, generally speaking, can be derived with certainty from mythology, except matters of ethnography and geography on a large scale:<sup>3</sup> more minute localities we must not look for, as the earlier home of a legend was quite driven from the memory by a later habitation;<sup>4</sup> and what we take for particular tribes, are often perfectly general designations of more early humanity, as *Μινύαι*, the good men of the olden time, and sometimes national appellatives recurring in many places without any near connexion between them, as *Λάοες*. (8)

<sup>1</sup> On the Aleuadæ, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Aleuadæ, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Minyæ, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Minyæ, p. 28.

(1.) This scholar has, particularly since 1803, done very great service to mythology by separate essays and treatises; and to him especially is it owing that the mythical is recognised as essentially different from the historical, and that the historical superstition of Gatterer's times is completely exploded. In the above abstract, I have chiefly made use of the last treatises delivered at the Academy of Berlin, and have even introduced some expressions from his letters.

(2.) I would say "excellent and profound views," if that were not egotistical, as they are the same that I have embraced myself. See cap. 4. Only "figuratively represent" may be wrong; for I at least hold, that a separate thinking of the figure, and what the figure represents, is not genuinely mythical; and for a contradiction to the wandering about of mythi, see p. 100.

(3.) Although I admit that there is much truth in this, still I do not think that so much irregularity prevailed. On the contrary, I feel convinced that certain laws operate in the formation of mythi, and that when the influencing circumstances are known, we can even yet frequently show that the mythus *must* be so formed.

(4.) Certainly very true, if we only acknowledge that even after Homer, mythic invention—mythic in the very strictest sense—continued to be exercised. The most distinct proof of this is furnished by the Cyrenaic cycle of fables. In my opinion, Buttmann too readily regards every mythus as descended from immemorial antiquity; *e. g.*, all those which indicate a connexion between Europe and Asia.

(5.) Only I would not, however, as Buttmann does, tear out individual groups from the whole of mythology, as, for instance, Cadmus and Europa, and undertake the interpretation of them. It seems to me, that we must ask, Where were these stories current in Greece about Cadmus? Assuredly not in Arcadia or Ionia, but in Thebes. What, then, in the relatively oldest times, was the signification attached to them there? In order to learn this, I have first to investigate the entire connexion in which the name there stands—the spouse, Hermione, (Unity of Love,) the son, Polydorus, (the Bountiful,) the Crops as subjects, and so forth.

(6.) Yet I think there is so much *εὐχέλεια*, especially in the logographers, that we easily see through their mode of procedure, and can soon, from their representation, extract its elements, the legends employed; and that even in later authors.

(7.) A series of events, of which the mythi themselves are the

results, can be often evolved with certainty; and then an estimate of the time, also, may be formed by comparison. Genealogies, likewise, although the most widely different materials are mixed up together, often furnish remarkable chronological hints. Why, for instance, does the tribe-name of Thessalus always stand so far down—as son of Jason or Hercules, while Dorus, Epeus, Ætolus, and Pelasgus are placed high up? Unquestionably for this reason, that the Thessalians were not much known to the Greeks until shortly before the expiration of the mythic times,—on chronological grounds therefore.

(8.) Against this position I would contend to the utmost, inasmuch as I cherish the conviction, that legends for the most part sprang up in a very narrow field, and first by migrations, and then by means of poetry (which was the first common Hellenic possession) became more general. Why is Cadmus only in Thebes and Samothrace? Why is Athamas, the fugitive from the altar, in Orchomenus, Southern Thessaly and Teos; wherefore Apollo's purification only in Tempe and Tarrha; wherefore the mythi of Euphemus in the places inhabited by the same race, Panopeus, Lemnos, Tænarum, Cyrene, and a thousand different things of the same kind? There is no doubt in my mind that the ramification of the Greek nations into countless tribes, the numerous migrations, on the one hand, and hereditary tradition in families and tribes on the other, chiefly contributed to give its form to mythology. Buttmann everywhere tries to obliterate the local; so that, for example, he has even made use of Pausanias, ii. 29,—a passage already rectified by Clavier,—in order to extend the legend of the Minyans, which had its root in a very restricted locality, over Phocis and Locris; and, in the end, he takes from the Minyans even their existence as a national tribe; whereby I cannot help thinking that I would deprive myself of the natural key to the explanation of a host of legends.

*Creuzer. (1)*

The mythology and symbolism of the Greeks are to be derived, on the one hand, from the helpless condition, and the poor and scanty beginnings of religious knowledge among that people; and, on the other, from the benevolent design of priests educated

in the East, or of Eastern origin, to form them to a purer and higher knowledge. Direct communication could not here be employed; the pure light of knowledge must first be refracted in a corporeal object, in order that it might only fall upon the eye reflected, and in coloured though bedimmed radiance: therefore was it that those instructors of mankind were obliged systematically to speak in figures. (2) Teaching was one-half exhibition and indication, and the other half explanation and interpretation; but even this, from the abundance of what was to be revealed, was dark and enigmatic. To form symbols, and to interpret symbols, were the main occupations of the ancient priesthood. (3) To the manner of contemplating the world in which symbolism and mythology are rooted, belongs the belief everywhere prevalent in a universal life of things; the separation of the spiritual and the corporeal, to us so easy, was still quite unknown to the *naïve* mode of thinking peculiar to the early world. That universal necessity from which even the most abstract mind cannot escape, and which leads man to plant himself as the central point of the world, and to view himself as in a mirror throughout all nature, then existed in a twofold degree. (4) Hence, to man every Power became a Person, with the idea of whom was given distinction of sex, begetting and giving birth, love and hate, death and destruction. The most lively personification was a fundamental law. But as the symbol even aims at representing the infinite in the limited sphere of the earthly,—at uniting the world of idea with the world of sense, there is always some incongruity and a superabundance of meaning in



comparison with the expression ; hence the dark and vaguely-hinting nature of the symbol which, following this tendency, takes on the mystic character, (5) The mythus, falling under the general idea of allegory, (6) derives its origin, sometimes from historical, sometimes from physical causes, and sometimes from merely peculiar, often misunderstood, expressions of the language, (7) but more especially from the wrapping of the symbol, and the obscurity of the hieroglyph. It is often nothing else than a symbol expressed ; and the older it is, so much the more are they allied. (8) In general it is divided into two main branches, transmission of the deeds and events of the early world, and the enouncement of thoughts, which it has been tried to define by the very inappropriate name of philosophemes, (Theomythia would have been a more fitting expression.) What have been so called, are manifold convictions and doctrines on God, humanity, and nature ; but in all of them the religious central point cannot fail to be recognised. These elements, however, very seldom appear unmixed, but run into each other, and are united in the most diversified combinations.<sup>1</sup> Now, in conformity with what is said above, a mass of symbolical and allegorical inventions, derived from the East, lie at the bottom of the Greek mythus,—an ancient theological poesy, the preservation of which, from the nature of its contents, was a duty incumbent on the priest-hoods of Greece.<sup>2</sup> (9) These inventions had come to the Greeks without difficulty ; as Greece, in more ancient times, was, so to speak, a part of the East ; and as to

<sup>1</sup> From the Introduction to his Symbolik.

<sup>2</sup> Briefe an Hermann, p. 55.

the Greek nation and nationality, they cannot be said to have existed till the tenth century before Christ.<sup>1</sup> But in Greece, that theological mythology grew up together with the heroic legend; so that, for example, Hercules, the god of the fighting Sun, became united in the mythus with princes, who served him and represented him at festivals.<sup>2</sup>(11) But, originally, it everywhere bore one and the same character, consistently sustained, that of a pure monotheistic primitive religion.<sup>3</sup> (12) A comparison with the oriental basis, and a feeling for mythic intuition, should, by means of internal as well as external activity, bring to light this one and universal character; this is the business of the mythologist.

(1.) As this scholar has himself so minutely developed his system, I may here restrict myself to merely a few cursory remarks.

(2.) It is easy to see how much there is here in contradiction to the theory laid down in this work. First, the assumption of a determinate *design* in the formation of mythi;<sup>4</sup> then, the supposition of a *doctrine* contained in the mythus, and unmythically thought previous to being veiled;<sup>5</sup> further, the opinion that there was an order of priests exalted above the laity in point of knowledge;<sup>6</sup> moreover, the notion that the Greeks had received their mythi from without, already partially formed,—a notion in support of which neither Cecrops, Danaus, nor Cadmus,<sup>7</sup> nor even the coincidence of some symbols,<sup>8</sup> can be brought forward. Here I shall merely remark, that in this way, however, the mythus, as the necessary and universal form of the earliest communication of ideas, is *not explained*, (which, as we have already said, can only at all be done by the history of the human mind in general;) for must even, for instance, paradise, the tree of knowledge, the deluge, &c., be communications to the Hebrews from a more highly cultivated people? Even Creuzer himself acknowledges picturesqueness and figurativeness of speech, as in itself a mode of ex-

<sup>1</sup> Briefe an Hermann, p. 28.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 40.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, p. 195.

<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 114 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 219.

pression absolutely necessary to early antiquity ; and was it, then, not so to the priests likewise ?

(3.) Symbols could scarcely be otherwise interpreted than by mythi, to which the *ισοί λόγοι* also belonged ; and here *λόγος* was the term employed so early as the time of Herodotus, merely because *μῦθος* was the current expression for the legend adorned by the poets. But there could not be an authentic interpretation of symbols derived from the framers of them themselves ; because the symbol likewise, to the time which produced it, was the necessary expression of thought or feeling, and by no means chosen to represent it with freedom and design. Compare above, p. 197.

(4.) Compare what is said in the same sense, p. 208.

(5.) Compare p. 205.

(6.) On the contrary, p. 54. Mythus and allegory are ideas lying far apart, growing in a different soil, and appearing in different epochs of mental cultivation. The mythus thinks as it speaks, but the other *ἄλλο μὲν ἀγορεύει, ἄλλο δὲ νοεῖ*.

(7.) Compare p. 171 sq. There is also in the mythus, as has been remarked above, very frequently an error, a pure misconception : thus, for instance, I think that even the shoulder-eating of Pelops arose from *ῥιμοφαγία*.

(8.) Precisely so, above p. 205. I would only remark further, (if I must be the first to remark it,) that even the religious mythus by no means sprang *always* from the symbol as explanatory and interpretive, but was often quite an immediate expression of the idea. Thus it is a pure mythus, when it is recorded as an event in time that God created man, but it rests merely on the pre-supposition of personal relations : in this there is nothing symbolical.

(9.) This theological poesy is to Creuzer what the religious mythi, related at particular sanctuaries in the districts of Greece, are to the author of this work.

(10.) A position which I cannot possibly concede.—Pelasgians, Dorians, Achæans, &c., like the Goths, Saxons, and Franks, were a nation in their physical and spiritual nature, in language and manners, long before they represented this unity in a common name or in a national state ; they were so from immemorial ages, many centuries before Homer, whose most minutely consistent portraiture could not have been produced amid a medley of heterogeneous things.

(11.) The enigma of the union of belief with fact is scarcely solved in this way, for in that case there must have been kings, Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon, who only existed in the imagination of Euhemerus.

(12.) Compare p. 182 sq.

(13.) Although I admit that there is much truth in this, yet therefore is mythology still an historical science like every other. For can we call a mere compilation of facts history? and must we not, in every field of the science of history, ascend on the ladder of facts to a knowledge of internal being and life?

*Hermann.* (1)

The mythus is the figurative representation of an idea.<sup>1</sup> (2) Mythology must be the science which teaches us what ideas and conceptions lie at the bottom of certain emblems among a given people, (3)—the history of mythi.<sup>2</sup> As regards the materials and contents of mythology, there are in the treatment of them four views possible, which we may call the poetical, the historical, the philosophical, and the theological: of which the first is not to be proved; the second remains problematical, unless the third or fourth find the key—that is, determine what in mythology cannot be set down as idea, and therefore is matter of fact, (4); the two others have much in their favour. There is no doubt that all these four views are at the same time correct, if we only comprehend what they seek for in mythology in one sole correct and fixed idea—that of wisdom, or collective human knowledge. But this was anciently altogether in the hands of the priests. Fear, horror, amazement, had given rise to belief in beings of super-human power.<sup>3</sup> Of this belief those availed themselves who by their knowledge and talents rose to be priests—that is, mediators between the people and the gods. By observation of nature, they gradually

<sup>1</sup> Wesen der Myth., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

acquired a certain scientific cultivation; *they* conceived what to the people was inconceivable, but presented it in figurative language, which the people, together with their bards,<sup>1</sup> took literally, and as an object of faith; but, in reality, understood it as little as if it were a foreign language.<sup>2</sup> (5) Hence, then, the theological view is the exoteric; the philosophical the esoteric: the former that of the people, the latter that of the wise men. Now, the first and most important problem of philosophy is to discover the cause of all phenomena, in which investigation it goes upwards, and reaches an ultimate cause in moral and physical nature; but downwards it finds historical circumstances and relations, the genealogies and migrations of nations; there it becomes in derivative form religion, and also by disfigurement, mysticism:<sup>3</sup> here, it passes over into history; filling up a void on both sides with hypotheses, it loses itself in inventions.<sup>4</sup> This cycle of knowledge must now be communicated in a way that would be on the one hand figurative, and yet be free from the fluctuation and unsteadiness of figures, because confusion would thereby be introduced into every department of knowledge. The symbolical and allegorical were not adapted to this purpose, but merely the personifying representation, which, indeed, still bears in itself the poetical character of ancient speech; but inasmuch as it describes the object by its predicate, (at the same time that identity of the predicate, indeed, does not denote identity of the thing,<sup>5</sup>) it makes definite and certain knowledge possible.<sup>6</sup> This, therefore, is the necessary and essen-

<sup>1</sup> Wesen der Myth., p. 56.<sup>2</sup> Comp. p. 137 sqq.<sup>4</sup> P. 39.<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 32 sqq.<sup>5</sup> P. 125.<sup>6</sup> P. 47.

tial form of mythology. (6) Accordingly, then, mythology, and, indeed, not merely theogonic but heroic mythology, is to be explained—on the supposition of a connected system of public knowledge, (7)—without reference to popular belief, which took for gods what was not meant for such.<sup>1</sup> It is to be explained merely from the words, inasmuch as the inquiry is as to what the given predicates signify in the language,—therefore, by means of etymology. (8) Now, the fact that a regular system of knowledge actually results from this procedure, and that the method of explanation can be everywhere carried out, is sufficient proof of its correctness. (9) It is to be admitted, however, that beside the eldest mythology, which merely personified, a younger allegorical mythology placed itself; to which, for instance, belong Hercules, fame-acquiring Virtue, and the whole Trojan war. (10)

(1.) This learned man, although he only began to occupy himself with mythology since 1817, must yet here receive particular consideration, because he has in an especial manner endeavoured to lay down the general principles of the science; partly in both the programmes *De Antig. Græcorum Mythologia* and *De Historia Græcæ primordiis*; partly in the *Briefe an Creuzer*, and the *Schluss-brief "Ueber das Wesen und die Behandlung der Mythologie,"* (which is here particularly made use of,) besides various other prefaces and notes written since that time.

(2.) To me it does not seem right to begin with so arbitrary an idea in an historical science. In order that we may be able to say what is *μῦθος* in general, we must rather set out from the given materials, and be satisfied, at first, with quite a formal definition. Comp. above, p. 1.

(3.) Comp. the agreement, p. 220.

(4.) But we can also, however, by setting out from acknowledged and certain history, discover the historical even in mythology; and the correctness of a theory does not, by any means,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. p. 101.

rest merely on its adaptability to explanation, as Hermann says, p. 15. Comp. above, p. 7.

(5.) Against this manner of explaining the origin of religion, see p. 176; against an order of priests, with its separate knowledge, see p. 188; against the whole system, which makes of these ancient teachers either selfish impostors or perverse men, who, instead of teaching, led into error, see p. 51.

(6.) Only necessary if the creators of mythi held themselves the things to be personal; which, however, Hermann himself does not by any means believe.

(7.) See, on the contrary, p. 13.

(8.) Comp. p. 231.

(9.) Much, rather, of the ingenuity displayed; or does Hermann believe in the very consistent and well-connected system of Dupuis?

(10.) Hermann, therefore, unhesitatingly ascribes to the theogonic a higher antiquity than to the heroic legend. But if the idea of ἀλλήγορη is applicable to either of the two, it certainly is to the former.

#### *Welcker. (1)*

At the bottom of Grecian mythology lies a hierarchical system of nature<sup>1</sup> as its oldest portion,—a connected chain of contemplations and speculations on Nature, which was preserved in an ancient priestly mode of expression, but now lies broken and scattered through the whole of mythology. (2) This system is still preserved, particularly in the names, which already appear in Homer as the remains of an earlier world; but all represent the chief objects of the religions of nature, and the chief attributes of the divine Being, and therefore the explanation of names is, at all events, one main business of the mythologist. (3) Many of the names, however, do not admit of being well explained from the Greek language; they belong to a time when the distinct individual nation was not yet formed; but another class is satis-

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, p. 258.

factorily explained from the Greek. To try and derive them from a foreign language, is an error which throws everything into confusion. Every people forms its hieratic and poetic names, and makes to itself, as it were, a system of such names for its native religion, for all higher and free contemplations. They are its oldest thoughts and inventions.<sup>1</sup> But the names themselves, like the images, through misapprehension, produced polytheism and superstition. In a multiplicity of genii, as it were, the divinely creating and nourishing principle was originally adored as one and a whole; time, chance, and misuse, tore asunder what was united, and then it remained incomprehensible and purely magical. From an originally pantheistic hymn, there are unfolded (while families, ranks, and tribes, separate, and even in this respect divide among themselves the great common possession,—the natural features of the places where they dwelt, and difference in views and embellishments, likewise producing their effect) a host of gods who spread themselves over the land.<sup>2</sup> From simple images of natural things, invention passed on to legends and popular tales, which, on every modification or expansion, lost more and more of their original signification, and often scarcely preserved a vestige of it;<sup>3</sup> especially when, through alterations in the worship, beings deprived of their godhead, as often happened, fell to the tribe-legend, and were now regarded as personal historical characters. In that case, it is an undoubted rule, that the significance is the more ancient, the personality of a later

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, p. 255.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 344 sq.    <sup>3</sup> Prometh., p. 132.



date.<sup>1</sup> The character of eldest science which was clothed in riddles (4) expresses itself in that figurative manner of representation, and the whole receives the form of a popular tale. Already in this form such narratives then come into the poems of Homer and Hesiod; and if sometimes the bard seems still to retain a consciousness that he is relating a priestly riddle of the olden time,<sup>2</sup> in other places, however, a real misapprehension of the original legend cannot be mistaken. (5)

(1.) The nearer in many points the method of this inquirer stands to mine, the more must I restrict myself to the selection of some insulated characteristic features of his theory, which I have gathered chiefly from his last writings, the Appendix to Schwenk, the work on Cadmus, and the Prometheus.

(2.) I would not, however, call it a system, in any other sense than because in most parts *one* mode of thinking and contemplating reigns throughout; in other respects, I imagine the formation of mythi to have been separate from the very first. Of this, however, enough has now been said.

(3.) Comp. p. 224.

(4.) On the contrary, see p. 111, and frequently.

(5.) It seems to me, however, that the dispute as to whether Homer and Hesiod understood or not what they tell us, (of which also so much has been said in the Correspondence between Hermann and Creuzer,) rests on a misapprehension of the laws according to which mythi themselves have been formed. Here it is always assumed that an earlier poet and sage had designedly veiled clearly-conceived ideas in symbols and allegorical mythi: that these were afterwards, from misapprehension, adopted as actual facts, and so repeated. But if it is admitted that the mythic and symbolic *expression* was necessary to the myth-creating ages, it follows that the mythic and symbolic *mode of thinking* was so likewise, because any other, for instance, occupation with clear intellectual notions, powers of nature, for example, and the like, (if the idea of power is at all clearer than that of an indwelling *δαίμων*,) must have also immediately created its language. Consequently, those

<sup>1</sup> Prometh., p. 133, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 151.

times imagined all circumstances and relations of deity, nature, and humanity, as if stamped on individual personages and significant actions. Accordingly, what now appears to us as misapprehension, was in the mythus from the very beginning, and never came there; although it is, indeed, true that the expressed mythus, the farther back the time of its creation lay, so much the less excited the same feeling, the same idea out of which it had arisen, and that thereby its proper signification always disappeared more and more, particularly when it was torn from its native soil and transplanted to foreign circumstances. The form remained and stiffened; the spirit which had caused it to spring forth, had fled. The ancient Argive, believing in his gods, Zeus and Hera, as the sources of every blessing, observed an actual union of the pair in the season when the seed quickens and germinates. Zeus and Hera embraced, and the thoroughly personal conception of this marriage begat a numerous progeny of child-like and *naïve* ceremonies and mythi. The bard of the Iliad, also, hears the story as a formed and widely-circulated mythus, without reference to a definite season or to nature at all; he weaves it into his poem where, from its singularity, it must be handled in a somewhat sportive manner; the golden dropping cloud remains, and the earth grows green, and sends forth shoots; but the motive for the former is the wish for concealment, and for the latter the want of a soft couch. The bard, however, has still, perhaps, at the same time a certain feeling of the significance, which is only entirely lost in sheer Euhemerism. The history of Agamemnon's sceptre, detailed with truly Hebraic simplicity, is no allegory on the supreme sway of the Pelopidæ, but an expression of belief that the skeptron with which these shepherds of the people ruled over Argos must have come from the king of kings; and this belief is entertained by Homer as well as the original inventor of the mythus.

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The more the author of the foregoing Treatise compares the theories which have just been presented in some of their general features, and considers how widely they differ from each other; and how, nevertheless, the authors of them, all thinking and learned

men, arrived at a firm conviction of their truth ; the less does he feel himself entitled to pronounce sweeping judgments, or disposed to reproach any of them with their theories, as those now most readily do who borrow a few bold assertions and propositions on things which they have never themselves thoroughly considered, in order to attack with these weapons every one who will not follow the same banner. But such a comparative view begets not only greater indulgence to others, but greater severity to one's self ; and he who compares is involuntarily led to examine what it was that obliged him to treat the subject exactly *in such a way* ; nay, it may turn out that a strong feeling of dejection will arise from it, and at least many a sanguine hope of external success be damped. However, from such comparisons, which he frequently undertakes, the author always comes back again to these inquiries with calm and untroubled spirit, inasmuch as he derives comfort from two sources in particular. First, The meeting and coinciding with other inquirers labouring independently in the same field,—a circumstance which not unfrequently happens, and is always welcome. In this respect, the appearance of Völcker's book, so frequently referred to in these sheets, was especially gratifying to him : there are even here, indeed, still some points in dispute, as the critique in the *Göttingen Review* for 1825 does not conceal ; but in most cases he found his own paths carried farther out, or new ones opened up, which he had no less pleasure in treading, and this with so much the greater satisfaction, as Völcker's talent and learning everywhere testified clearly to his vocation as a mytholo-

gist. But that peace and confidence are still more restored by the peculiar feeling which attends the investigation, of always finding new paths and glades in the chaotic confusion which reigns throughout the mass of transmitted mythi. In truth, this feeling, in the brighter hours of life, is not a selfish one; the science is too large and comprehensive to promise general fame to the individual labourer: this generation even will hardly complete the fabric; and when perhaps much that has been first explained in these pages belongs to the science, the pages themselves will have been long forgotten, and replaced by works incomparably better. And altogether, who would quarrel here about greater or less degrees of merit, when all calculation on this point is for the present nearly impossible? for one inquirer, who carries out even the most decided error with talent and energy, may have thereby advanced the development of the science more than another, who, with indolent mind, recognises and adopts a truth lying close at hand. Let him who shows knowledge of the subject, honesty, and zeal, have his own way; and he who does not possess these qualifications, although the surge of party-spirit may raise him for a moment, soon sinks, however, back to *his own* level.



## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

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*On the relation which Homer, Hesiod, and the Orphici,  
bear to elder Tradition.*

IN this Appendix I bring together some points, which I could neither introduce into the exposition of my mythological method, nor yet leave altogether unnoticed; the latter for this reason, that precisely on these points are the most opposite, and in part the most extraordinary, notions abroad; which, nevertheless, those who adhere to them treat as established truths, and therefore declare war against every scientific striving which does not merely confine itself to the outside. On the other hand, mythology will not be enabled to treat these points with perfect clearness until many others are first thoroughly investigated; at present, to confess it freely, there is no point in the whole science more obscure than this, for example, What did Homer receive from older tradition? what alterations had mythi already undergone? what changes did he take the liberty of making? &c. What will be here given is merely a contribution: I will only speak of matters on which I think I have obtained some light. Indulgence, therefore, must be granted to their disjointed and aphoristic form.

### HOMER.

When we consider the endless detail of occurrences, and the immense number of persons that figure in the Iliad and Odyssey, we can scarcely persuade ourselves that the poet received all this from tradition. Were the hundreds whom



his principal heroes slay, and who are never named until they have fallen, all handed down to him in legends? Could he not have invented them as well, for instance, as the names of the Phæacians referred to above? <sup>1</sup> And yet, perhaps, in most cases we must assume such a transmission. First, for this reason, that the free invention of unmeaning names, which those of the slain almost always are, would be an occupation as unworthy of the bard as the application of those other names is happy and ingenious. Secondly, because those notices often preserve a connexion with each other, which could scarcely be the result of arbitrary invention. For instance, is there not an obvious agreement in this, that Oresbius, with variegated mitra, a man who hoarded well his wealth, dwelt in the thriving town of Hyle, on the lake Cephissus, <sup>2</sup> and that there also was established the excellent leather-cutter Tychius, who made for Ajax his gigantic shield? <sup>3</sup> Can we imagine this to have been invented? Further, the names are often evidently national, as Amisodarus, Maris, and Atymnius, <sup>4</sup> names of a Lycian family not of Greek origin, which must be accounted to have been of the Milyan or Solyman race. The circumstance that the last of these names is also, in the form of Atymnus, found in Cretan Gortyna, admits of a satisfactory explanation from the ancient connexion between the continent and the island. We see clearly in other names, that although they never denoted individual persons, still they do not owe their formation to the poet, but to tradition. Thus, there appears once a son of Priam, called Gorgythion, <sup>5</sup> who is evidently nothing else than a Gergithian with the patronymic form, (οἱ Γέργιδες thence Γέργιδῆνες or, by the easy exchange of *εργ* for *οργ*, *Γοργυδῆνες*,) and therefore a hero formed from the name of a city, according to the mythic practice. Just in the same way, even the ancients remarked, <sup>6</sup> that Kebriones, the bastard son of Priam, whose name so frequently occurs, is connected with Cebrenia, a Trojan city among the hills. *Κεβρίωνες* is probably come, by

<sup>1</sup> P. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Il., v. 709.

<sup>3</sup> Il., vii. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Il., xvi., 317 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Il., viii. 302.

<sup>6</sup> See Strabo, xiii. 597.

epic transposition, from Κεβηννίδης; and he is perhaps called bastard because the town, which was situated at the boundary, was not Trojan at all times. All this, and many other things, convince me that Homer drew from an exceedingly rich, full-streaming fountain of traditions. He was, indeed, separated by centuries from the time to which tradition itself relates; he depicts a remote and wonderful age, in which gods held intercourse with men as their equals; and although the heroes who contended around Troy have not yet, through growing adoration, and from being blended with originally dæmonic beings, been exalted to demi-gods, yet they are widely different from men "as they now are." Immediately behind stands a still more gigantic race, among whom the colossal form of Hercules towers like a mountain, and all is already strange and marvellous. But, nevertheless, an immense mass of traditions, all of course modified according to the character of the mythus, may have been saved over from that time,<sup>1</sup> if we consider that the transmission of mythi was then almost the chief mental activity; that the memory of men possessed a strength of which we can now form no conception; that the ancient reigning families still existed for the most part, (Pelopidæ in Lesbos, Nelidæ in Ionia, Æacidæ in Epirus;) that the victorious Achæans, not long after the war, took into their possession the coast on which they had then contended; and that the bard of the Iliad, doubtless, lived where the scene of his poem is laid. Many things may have been related in these regions by the remnant of the Teucrians on Ida, and the Grecian inhabitants of ancient Troy; and all these may have been drawn into the stream of tradition, and mingled with it, before this great war of gods and men could be sung by Homer.

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In the mass of legends which Homer inherited, it is natural to suppose that many an historical relation was de-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Od. iii. 113.

faced and disguised by a subsequent order of things, while others were preserved by tradition, but so as that the bard himself could not perceive their true foundation and connexion. An example of both. Like the people of all the other districts of Greece, the Bæotians, also, must assist in besieging Troy. But these Bæotians in the poet are not the ancient inhabitants of the country, they are the *Βοιωτοὶ Ἀλωεῖς*, who did not until after the Trojan war, and amid great revolutions, subdue that district, which had been previously Minyan, Cadmean, and Thracian. Nevertheless, not merely the Catalogue—in which I have already elsewhere sufficiently taken notice of the additions of Argive, Rhodian, and Attic rhapsodists—but also the *Iliad*,<sup>1</sup> boldly represents the Bæotians, who otherwise often come upon the scene, as dwelling in the country afterwards called Bæotia.<sup>2</sup> The following is an example of the other kind: Among the European allies of the Trojans, the Pæonians at the very first glance strike us by the great distance from which they come. The Thracians of the Hellespont, and the Ciconians,<sup>3</sup> do not even form the link which connects them, for many other tribes still intervene. The riddle is solved by the very credible account of Herodotus; that previous to the Trojan war a swarm of Teucrians crossed over to Europe, passed through Thrace, and left behind the Pæonians on the Axios.<sup>4</sup> Homer knows the result of this, the continued connexion of the Trojans and Pæonians, although he mentions nothing of the historical ground, not even the name of TEUCRIANS, which comprehended them all in common. The Pæonians had become to him entirely legendary. Their hero, Asteropea, is descended immediately from Pelegon; because the Pelagonians were a branch of the Pæonians,<sup>5</sup> and Pelegon is a son of the great river Axios.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. 709.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Orchom., p. 394; and Buttmann on the *Aleuad.*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.*, ii. 844 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Herod., v. 13; vii. 20, 75.

<sup>5</sup> Mannert Geogr. vii. p. 487.

<sup>6</sup> See *Il.*, xxi. 140; Comp. ii. 848; xvi. 287.

The most remarkable part of it is, that the wife of Axius is called a daughter of *Ἀχισσαιμενός*, the Healer. It is clear that this name came into Mythology as a synonym of *Παιῶν*, the healing god, and, therefore, owes its existence to a decidedly false interpretation of the name of the tribe.

A consideration of the worships which appear in Homer, as peculiar to families, leads to corresponding results. The deities, indeed, are very often invoked without a foundation in particular religious usages, but merely on account of the agency ascribed to them. Thus, Athena is, on numberless occasions, the suggester of prudent resolutions, and the defender of the chief Grecian heroes, and it is tolerably certain that she had already been so in ante-Homeric bards.<sup>1</sup> But just as often heroes are protected by the gods, because their tribes and families worship them. Hera guides the Argo through the Planctæ, because she was friendly to Jason, says the Odyssey.<sup>2</sup> She was the goddess of Iolchus.<sup>3</sup> I have pointed out in another place,<sup>4</sup> that Apollo takes the *Æneadæ* and *Panthoidæ* under his special protection, because both families worshipped him. Virgil represents Panthus as priest of Apollo; probably following Arctinus, certainly an ancient tradition: for Polydamas, the son of Panthus, knows the past and the future evidently for that reason;<sup>5</sup> and when a hostile chief tries to slay him, Polydamas escapes by the help of the god: "for Apollo did not allow the *son of Panthus* to perish among the warriors in the front."<sup>6</sup> For the same reason must Euphorbus, another son of Panthus, forwarding the work of Apollo, run Patroclus through the body. He who does not here see connexion, can see it nowhere. It is no objection, that Euphorbus is afterwards slain without Apollo saving him, and that another Panthoide also dies;<sup>7</sup> surely

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> XII. 72.

<sup>3</sup> See Orchom., p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> Dor. i. p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> Il. xviii. 250; Comp. xii. 210.

<sup>6</sup> XV. 520.

<sup>7</sup> Il. xiv. 516.

plenty of the friends and descendants of the gods fall without their being able to assist them.

"If such a conclusion" (from the protection of the gods to the worship) "were admitted, the aged Nestor must have been a son of Poseidon, for Poseidon in a similar way defends Antilochus in battle,"<sup>1</sup> is an objection which some one has made to this position, while he has in all ignorance and innocence pointed out a parallel to that example which I prefer to any other. The Nelidæ to whom Antilochus belonged, had certainly a gentile worship of Poseidon; and of this, Homer, mythology, and history, are full. Neleus is the son of Poseidon;<sup>2</sup> on his son Periclymenus, Poseidon bestowed the gift of transformation;<sup>3</sup> Neleus, with the Pyliaus, offers up, on the sea-shore, a hecatomb to Poseidon,<sup>4</sup> in the region where stood, in later times, the famous temple of the god Samicon.<sup>5</sup> In this family there is also connected with the service of the Ἰδῆς Ἰππίος particular attention to the rearing and managing of horses.<sup>6</sup> After this who can doubt why it is that the god guards Antilochus from the arrows of the Trojans which fly around him on all sides.

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The way in which many learned men try to extract all religion from Homer is altogether extraordinary. As if Homer did not know the worship of the gods in the fullest sense of the word,—gentile rites, state sacrifices, expiatory sacrifices, purificatory sacrifices, and ablutions, besides prophetic families, such as the Melampodidæ.<sup>7</sup> His Troy is well provided with priests; besides the priestess of Athena, there are named priests of Hephæstus, of Scamander, and of Idæan Zeus,<sup>8</sup> who were honoured as gods among the people; moreover, Hector, as son of the king, offers up sacrifice on the citadel and Mount Ida in behalf of the community. That Homer nowhere mentions so

<sup>1</sup> Il., xiii. 554.

<sup>2</sup> Od., xi. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod in the *Ecœ.* See Dor., vol. i. p. 540.

<sup>4</sup> Od., iii. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Map of the Peloponnesus in "The Dorians." <sup>6</sup> See Il., xxiii. 307.

<sup>7</sup> See Od., xv. 225.

<sup>8</sup> Il., v. 10, 77; vi. 300; xvi. 604.

salutary an institution as that of expiation for blood, (unless Il., ix. v. 499, may even refer to this,) does not justify any general conclusion. How very differently, we venture to say, would religion, in this particular, appear in his poem, if he had composed it in Crete, or in the neighbourhood of the Pythian temple, which he only mentions three times, although he, nevertheless, speaks of it as a sanctuary already rich and far renowned! Why the mystic deities, Demeter and Dionysus, figure so little, has been already discussed;<sup>1</sup> to me it seems, that in this we must admire Homer's artistic skill, and the feeling for what is right and fitting which was inborn in the Greeks. But above all, we have here to repeat the remark that Homer, like the bards before him, stands on a particular insulated spot of Greece, and views the gods as they presented themselves to him from that point. There comes to him in ceremonies, in names, in mythi, the idea of a god which was formed centuries before, in some district of Greece; the bard tries to unite it as he best may with the rest of his faith and knowledge, and to conceive a definite notion of the being, though in his nature many-sided and variously significant. Sometimes we see very plainly how this poetical idea is only formed in his mind by degrees to proper distinctness, especially in the case of Hermes. For it cannot but be observed that the idea of this god still fluctuates extremely in the Iliad. He is called the Bounteous (εἰσέννομος,) the Giver of Good (δῶταρ ἰάνν,) the strong Argus-slayer (κατὰρ Ἀργυροφόντης,) the Powerful (εὔχος.) Cunning works are also ascribed to him; but he is only, properly speaking, the servant and messenger of Zeus, the constant bearer of his commands, in the last Book of the Iliad, which was of later composition, and throughout the Odyssey; for the adjective διάκτορος,<sup>2</sup> which has various meanings, scarcely justifies a conclusion. On the contrary, the mythi which we find in the Iliad regarding Hermes, still represent him entirely as the god who blessed the land with fertility,

<sup>1</sup> P. 67.<sup>2</sup> Iliad, xxi. 497.

which was his attribute in the original worship; for instance, that which says that he favoured Phorbas (Grazier,) the Rich-in-herds, more than all the Trojans, and loaded him with wealth,<sup>1</sup> and that more detailed one<sup>2</sup> which relates that the beneficent god loved the daughter of Phthiotian Phylas, Πολυμήλη, the Possessor of many Herds, and by her had Εὐδαίρας, Riches, whom the aged Phylas fostered and brought up in his house—quite a significant local mythus, but which is here related, like others, in the usual tone of heroic mythology.

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From the times of the earliest philosophers of Greece, the undignified and scandalous stories about the gods, in Homer, have, times without number, proved a stumbling-block, which many have attempted to remove by interpretations that are, to say the truth, just as forced, frigid, and unsuitable as the denial of all significance is absurd. I think that a consideration of the following points will contribute to the solution:—

First, It is to be taken into account that Grecian faith, in one direction, sets out from experience. The gods hold sway in nature and human life. But a systematic dualism, a separation of the world into a good and a bad half, is not known at least to most of the worships. Now, the belief, indeed, was very old, that this world also was as it ought to be, that the deity ordered everything for the best—the belief in the Themis of Zeus. But, in individual cases, there is so much contradiction, so much disorder and disease in actual life, that even the world of gods could not possibly maintain itself in its pure elevation. Hence, suffering, fighting, wandering gods perhaps belonged at all times to the religious creed of the Greeks.

More confusion was wrought by the conflict between the mystic and mythic tendencies already spoken of.<sup>3</sup> The mystic representation, as its great aim is to express some-

<sup>1</sup> Iliad, xiv. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., xvi. 179.

<sup>3</sup> P. 185 sq.

thing remote and strange to man, cared very little about the indecent, which, on the contrary, first becomes very striking in the mythic representation. In the latter, Zeus was no longer, as in the ancient Argive legend, the blessing of heaven streaming down in the rain-shower, but altogether a personal, individual ruler of the gods; and Homer, therefore, cannot describe his passion for Hera on the mountain-top without a slight tone of pleasantry.

But, thirdly, the mythic expression of that olden time had an innocent *naïveté* and raciness which must have appeared strange and unbecoming to a later age. The expression of so many relations by generation and descent especially comes under this remark; and this was the cause of so many love affairs among the gods, whose marriages furnished a favourite subject to the later poets, among whom the child-like feeling which had brought the gods into so immediate contact with man, had long disappeared.

Moreover, regard must be had to the different light in which different gods presented themselves to Homer. He, doubtless, considered to be gods all beings that were worshipped as such: from the worship antiquity always inferred the reality. But the voluptuous worship of the Cyprian Aphrodite could not possibly give him so dignified an idea of that deity as that of Zeus, Apollo, or Athena. Homer would scarcely have represented the love of Ares and Aphrodite in so playful a manner if the mythus had not come to him from a distance, probably from the sacred Thebes, as an insulated and dissevered narration.

The treatment of earlier poets, also, who had stood on some one-sided point of view, produced a determinating influence on the characteristic features of Homer's gods. Why, I would ask, is Hera, the great mother of Nature and goddess of marriage at Argos, so morose and vindictive a woman in Homer? The poet doubtless thought that this was her character. The impression, as we can scarcely help perceiving, had come to him through the mythi and poems regarding Hercules, in which the *Ἥρας χόλος* was the obstructing principle. In my opinion, she had



already the same character before, in the legends which referred to the birth and combats of Apollo; and here religious relations lay at the bottom. These legends gained the ascendancy over others where Hera appeared friendly, benignant, loving, as in the mythus of Jason; their impression always floated before Homer; and therefore it was even here belief in the prevailing tradition which determined the treatment of the poet. Even the circumstance of her not being always complaisant to Zeus is, perhaps, derived from earlier religious legends which had represented her as a coy bride.

To this I would likewise add, that a certain tendency to sport with sacred things, such as we frequently find among strictly religious nations, was also, by no means, a stranger to the Greeks; and in this it often seems as if man, in the dark consciousness that all this world of gods was merely of his own imagining, laughed in the end at his own work. The Grecian mythology is full of jesting about gods and heroes; how Sisyphus cheated Hades, and Hercules Atlas, was told in a humorous manner even by the logographers; and to me, at least, Homer appears sometimes to smile gaily over the singular stories about the gods, which were handed down to him from the early world, and sometimes himself (as in the contest between Hera and Artemis) to fasten a freer jest on an old legend.

The sum of these remarks is, that the immorality of Olympus, so much complained of, by no means sprang out of the infant state of religious thought, but rather from the extremely combined, intricate, and perplexed condition of the Greek religion, in which things that had originated in different places, and belonged to different epochs of religious thought, were all united into one mass. How individuals saved themselves from this confusion and found religious consolation, is certainly a very interesting inquiry.

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In reading Homer the remark has often forced itself on me, that the mythus, handled by the poet, in many points

gave the gods still more important parts to perform, and in a certain sense was more theological than the poem. Without dreading the charge of heresy, I shall say a few words on this subject to the reflecting readers of the poet.

The *Iliad*, in its connexion, is, we all know, a glorification of Achilles by Zeus; for the Trojans only prevail because Zeus wishes to show that the reposing hero, who sits in solitude, can alone conquer them. But to leave him this glorification entirely unmixed with sorrow, the Grecian sense of moderation forbids. The deepest anguish must mingle with the consciousness of his fame, and punish his insolence. That glorification is the will of Zeus; and in the spirit of the ancient mythus, a motive for it is assigned in a divine legend. The sea-goddess Thetis, who was, according to the Phthiotic mythus, wedded to the mortal Peleus, saved Zeus by calling up the giant Briareus or *Ægæon* to his rescue. Why it was *Ægæon*, is explained by the fact that this was a great sea-dæmon, who formed the subject of fables at Poseidonian Corinth,<sup>1</sup> where even the sea-god himself was called *Ægæon*;<sup>2</sup> who moreover was worshipped at several places in Eubœa,<sup>3</sup> the seat of Poseidon *Ægæus*; and whom the *Theogony* calls the son-in-law of Poseidon, and most of the genealogists, especially Eumelus in the *Titanomachy*,<sup>4</sup> brought into relation with the sea. There is, therefore, good reason to be found in ancient belief why Thetis called up *Ægæon* of all others to Jove's assistance. The whole of this story, however, is not detailed in Homer,—it is not much more than indicated,—and therefore it would be difficult even now to interpret it in a perfectly satisfactory manner.<sup>5</sup> It bears the same relation to the *Iliad* that the northern fables of the gods, which serve as a background to the legend of the *Nibelungen*, bear to our German ballad, only that here the separation is much greater still.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan., ii. 1, 6. 4, 7.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian in Eustath. on the *Iliad*, p. 123. Solin., ii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Apoll., i. 1165. Comp. Schol. Il. ib.

<sup>5</sup> See, however, Welcker, *Prometh.*, p. 147 sqq.

In several passages of the *Odyssey* it is hinted to us, in enigmatical expressions peculiar to that poem, that the hero, at the close of one and beginning of another month, returned to Ithaca and punished the suitors.<sup>1</sup> Now, on the day that he re-appeared as an avenger, there was in Ithaca a great festival of Apollo, *Νεομῆνος*, as Philochorus rightly observed,<sup>2</sup> who was, together with Pallas, a household god in the race of Arcesius. It is on this account that the suitors assemble so early in the house of the king,<sup>3</sup> and the other nobles of Ithaca in the grove of the far-smiting Apollo, to whom they offer up a sacred hecatomb.<sup>4</sup> On this day, therefore, the day of Apollo, the avenging god, the guardian of archers,<sup>5</sup> Odysseus makes his appearance, grasps the bow, and completes with Apollo<sup>6</sup> the work of vengeance. A remarkable coincidence certainly, and an extremely significant feature of ancient tradition, in which nothing was baseless and unmeaning. But even here Homer is satisfied with stating what was handed down, and no indication can be found that the bard himself comprehended the exceedingly grand connexion of the legend; and although we should naturally expect it, there is no indication given that it is the god of the festival who completes his work on that his own day.

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To him who would desire to know what was the form of the mythic materials before Homer, the *ODYSSEY* is one of the most difficult problems. One might perhaps think, and many may so view the matter, that a bard, to whose ears had come the tradition of an Ithacan hero Odysseus, who in his voyage back from Troy long wandered about, and, returning, found his wife besieged by suitors, and his house in the greatest confusion, had tacked to it all manner of tales of wonder and enchantment, which he had learned from intercourse with sea-faring men. But the

<sup>1</sup> See xiv. 162; xix. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Dor., vol. i. p. 310. Comp. Schol. Arist. Plut., 1127.]

<sup>3</sup> XX. 156, 250.

<sup>4</sup> XX. 278; xxi. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. xxi. 267.

<sup>6</sup> XXII. 7.

more we penetrate into the history of the origin of the mythi handled in the *Odyssey*, the more do we see that what the poet received was a mass of legends already connected with each other,—having been united by popular tradition, or even by earlier bards,—in which there is far more of local origin than we are at first inclined to suppose. Thus I would at once assign to the local mythus the aid of Minerva, although in the *Odyssey* it is usually accounted for merely by the general character of the goddess. The chief town in Ithaca (or the neighbouring Asteria) was called<sup>1</sup> *Alalcomenæ*, evidently from the help-giving Athena; hence it is even said to have been a colony from the Bœotian city of that name; and thus therefore is the saving, helping Athena the household-goddess of *Odysseus*.<sup>2</sup> Among the adventures which befel *Odysseus*, when tossed about in far distant regions, certainly the most remarkable is the questioning of *Tiresias*, and the intercourse with other shades, in the meadow of *Asphodel*, behind the *Cimmerians*. That the position of that people, as *Homer* gives it, on the Ocean at the north-west of the earth,<sup>3</sup> behind the magic isle of *Circe*, is a thorough invention, and no disfigurement of any thing real, I take to be tolerably certain. But we must form quite a different decision in regard to the rites performed by *Odysseus*, which were evidently copied from actual ceremonies, and appear to have been a *αἱμαχουργία* or blood-sating, as the Bœotians called all sacrifices to the Dead, by which the shades were allured from the nether world, and prevailed upon to speak and answer. It is certain that such citations of the dead were at that time already practised in Greece as local institutions, but only in remote, insulated, and little known regions. Now, there were *νεκυομαντεῖα* or *ψυχοπομπεῖα* in Greece, at the Pontic *Heraclæa*,<sup>4</sup> at *Phigalia*,<sup>5</sup> perhaps also at *Tænarum*, and, lastly, at the river *Acheron* in the land of the *Thesprotians*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Orchom.*, p. 213, 7.

<sup>2</sup> As even *Od.*, iv. 750–766, shows.

<sup>3</sup> *Orchom.*, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> *Plut. Cimon.*, 6 *de sera num. vind.* 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Paus.*, iii. 17, 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Herodot.*, v. 92. *Comp. Diogen. L.* i. 100. *Paus.*, ix. 30, 3. *Schol. Theocr.*, ii. 12; and the allusion in the *Birds* of *Aristoph.*, 1553.

Only that last-named can lay claim to having occasioned the Homeric invention.<sup>1</sup> The Heracleian is too young, the Peloponnesian too insignificant, to be drawn from a distance into the mythic cycle of Ithaca. The Avernian, (to remark this also, in opposition to Heyne,)<sup>2</sup> if it existed so early, could scarcely be known in Greece, properly so called, even by obscure report. But on the Acheron, where this stream flows through the Acherusian lake, and passing the walls of the ancient Ephyra, afterwards Cichyrus, falls into the sea, in a region which is correctly described, particularly by Thucydides<sup>3</sup> and Pausanias,<sup>4</sup> and on which Pouqueville has recently thrown a clearer light, names and legends of the infernal deities were domiciled from an early period, and from thence migrated early to Italy, partly through the ancient connexion between the Epirotes and the Italians, and partly through colonies from Greece Proper: so that now almost everything that Epirus possessed presents itself again in that country, as Pandosia on the Acheron in Ænotria, and the Aornus in Campania. In like manner too, the Acheron of Homer, which receives into itself the Periphlegethon and Cocytus, is certainly not a mere poetical invention; and even if a reference to sorrow should be concealed in the name—although this has in the language so little analogy in its favour, as in *Ἀχελῷος*—it is at all events too dark and faded for the appellation to be regarded as allegorical. White poplars also were certainly called *Ἀχερσίδες*, because they grew beside the real Thesprotian Acheron; and the circumstance of Homer putting poplars likewise in the groves of Persephone,<sup>5</sup> shows again that the Epirotic locality glimmers through the poetical description. But in order that we may be able to advance a step farther in the discovery of the mythic foundation of the Odyssey, we must tarry longer at Ephyra, and in the first place again take up the question: What Ephyra is it that so often occurs in Homer? I begin with Odyssey,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Paus., i. 17, 2.

<sup>3</sup> I. 46.

<sup>4</sup> I. 17. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Æn.*, vi. *Exc.* 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.*, x. 510.

i. 259. The Taphian prince Mentes, (or rather Athena in his form,) relates how Odysseus visited his father on his return from Ephyra, whither he had gone to obtain from Ilus the Mermeride, man-killing poison for his arrows; but that Ilus did not give it to him, from dread of the eternal gods. Now, if we here think of Ephyra in Elis, as some would, Odysseus could not properly touch any islands, least of all the Echinades at the mouth of the Achelous,<sup>1</sup> but which Homer separates entirely from the Taphian islands. The islands on the contrary which can stand for Taphus and the Taphiæ, lie (according to the newest and best maps, for example that of Barbié-du-Bocage for Pouqueville) northward, or a little north-westward from Ithaca, (they are Meganisi, Arcondi, Calama, and Castus.) Odysseus might very well sail thither when returning from Thesprotian Ephyra, especially if he got his ship drawn across the isthmus of the then peninsula of Leucas,<sup>2</sup> which course he may have had reasons for preferring to the voyage round. It is clear from this that the *fat land* of Ephyra<sup>3</sup> also, whither, in the opinion of the suitors, Telemachus will perhaps go to obtain poison, is the Thesprotian. Add to this another passage<sup>4</sup> where Phyleus the prince of Dulichium brings home an excellent coat-of-mail from Ephyra on the river Selleeis, which an ally, Euphetes, the prince of men, had presented to him. This makes it probable that that Ephyra was a city noted for skilful artisans; and then again the explanation of Il. ii. 659, is thereby determined, where Hercules carries away Astyocheia from Ephyra on the stream Selleeis, after he had laid waste many cities of god-nourished men. I know very well that a distinguished critic of antiquity, Demetrius of Scepsis,<sup>5</sup> in all these four passages, understood the Elean Ephyra; but his main reason, that only by the latter, not by the former, flows a Selleeis, cannot be admitted. For it is highly probable that the Acheron, which flowed down from the country of the Dodonæan Selleeis, was called

<sup>1</sup> Il., ii. 625.<sup>2</sup> Thuc., iii. 81.<sup>3</sup> Od., ii. 328.<sup>4</sup> Il., xv. 531.<sup>5</sup> In Strabo, 339<sup>b</sup>, 338<sup>a</sup>.

the Selleeis or Seller,<sup>1</sup> especially before it flowed into the great marsh; and this considerable river could then far better serve as a land-mark than an Elean streamlet.<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus therefore did certainly right in departing here from the opinion of Demetrius, which seems to have passed over from Crates to him, (as I gather from the *Schol. Ven.* to Il. xi., 740,) even for this reason, that that part of the Elean coast where Ephyra stood, is rather dry and sandy, and the country could then scarcely be called *fat*. Apollodorus also read somewhere in Homer *Τηλεφω* in reference to Ephyra, according to Strabo.<sup>3</sup> But at the same time, I do not deny that other Ephyrae are to be found in Homer. Thus the Ephyrians in the battle with the Phlegyans, in all probability were those of Cranonia;<sup>4</sup> and Ephyra in the hill-enclosed valley of Argos, the city of Sisyphus,<sup>5</sup> is rightly taken to be Corinth, although *Κόρινθος* also is to be met with in Homer<sup>6</sup> on other occasions, and even there Parmeniscus<sup>7</sup> understood the town in Elis.

The treatment of this subject is rendered considerably more difficult by the circumstance that these towns did not merely by accident bear the same name, but really had a certain connexion with one another at a remote period. For it does not by any means appear to have been a wavering in the interpretation of mythi which referred the same legend sometimes to this and sometimes to that Larissa, Æchalia, Pylus or Athenæ, but the legend often really existed from early times at places of the same name, and their existence had the same foundation with the coincidence of name, as can be distinctly shown in many cases. Now, as regards Ephyra, the legend of Medea, the sorceress, and grand-daughter of the Sun, a divine being according to Hesiod and Alcman, was localised at Corinth. She had here with her murdered children a mystic worship.<sup>8</sup> Now

<sup>1</sup> This explanation is also given in the *Schol. Ven.* to Cat. 166. Il. xv. 531.      <sup>2</sup> See my Map, Dor., vol. ii.      <sup>3</sup> VIII. p. 339<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Il. xiii., 301. Comp. Orchom., p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> Il., vi. 152.

<sup>6</sup> Il. ii. 570. xiii. 664. Comp. the Ven. Schol.

<sup>7</sup> Steph. B. *Ἐφυρα*.

<sup>8</sup> See Orchom. 268 sq.

the statement that Medea also dwelt at the Elean Ephyra with Augeas (the Shining One) the son of the Sun, Crates<sup>1</sup> certainly borrowed from local tradition; and that the eldest daughter of Augeas knew as many *φάρμακα* as the broad earth bears, is a fragment of this mythic cycle.<sup>2</sup> As I must not allow myself to enter more deeply into these allusions, I turn at once to Thesprotia and Ilus *Μερμερίδης*, who reigned there. The king in the city of the dead may, with the greatest truth, be called the son of Mermerus, the Destroyer; and this also confirms the above exposition. But Apollodorus mentions,<sup>3</sup> doubtless on the authority of a local tradition, that this Mermerus was a son of Pheres, son of Jason and Medea, who went to Ephyra in Thesprotia. He probably employed this passage in support of his view of the Homeric passage. At all events *Μέρμερος* was a name which occurred in the family of Medea, for, in Corinth likewise, one of her murdered children was so called,<sup>4</sup> on whose grave stood a form of terror, perhaps a Gorgoneion, called *Δεῖμα*. The ancient epopee Naupactia relates that Jason, when he dwelt in Coreyra, begat a son called Mermreus, who when hunting on the opposite continent—therefore near Ephyra—was torn in pieces by a lioness.<sup>5</sup> We might fancy from this that the legend of Mermerus first came to Thesprotia, in consequence of the transplantation of the mythus of Medea to Coreyra, about the 5th Olympiad.<sup>6</sup> The passage in the Odyssey, however, is certainly older, and the mythus of Mermerus must therefore have been in both Ephyra before. But the circumstance of Medea having been buried at Buthrotum<sup>7</sup> can be derived from the Thesprotian as well as the Corcyraean legend.

Now, then, if it is made out that the fable of Medea, the grand-daughter of the sun, was originally Thesprotian also, and that here therefore the city of the children of the sun, and that of Aidoneus, were perfectly the same, I think that

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Il., xi. 740.

<sup>2</sup> Il. xi. 741.

<sup>3</sup> Frgm., p. 429. Heyne.

<sup>4</sup> Apoll. i. 9, 28. Paus., ii. 3, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Paus., ii. 3, 7.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 77.

<sup>7</sup> Solin, 2, 30.



a great enigma in the Homeric *Odyssey* is solved. How comes it in all the world, it must be asked, that in Homer, Circe, the daughter of the Sun, (who probably even took her name from the circling planet,) has her abode so near the regions of eternal Night and Death, and that the island of Trinacria, also, is conceived to be so near the Ææan isle of Circe,<sup>1</sup> on which the sheep and cattle of Helius graze? This can have no other rational ground, than that both, the realm of Shade and the realm of Sun, were closely connected in the legend. It is the same in the Herculean mythus, where the herds of Geryoneus and Hades graze upon *one* island;<sup>2</sup> and although Stesichorus does not appear to have taken these cattle to be those of Helius, as in that case the god could hardly give the cup to the hero to be carried over, yet, the statement of Apollodorus,<sup>3</sup> that the cattle of HELIUS grazed in Erythea, is to be recognised as ancient tradition, precisely on account of that connexion. The herds of the Sun in the *Odyssey*, likewise, are, of course, no arbitrary fiction, but were fabled after actual herds, such as the god, according to the hymn to the Pythian Apollo, must have also possessed at Tænarum, another place where the worship of the Dead and the worship of the Sun are found together. Nay, it appears to me, that even in the account of Odysseus' companions making libations of water at the burning sacrifice of Helius' oxen, a mythic foundation must be furnished for the *ἠριάλιοι θυσίαι*, which Helius received at Athens and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Now, we know it was stated by Hecataeus, that Geryoneus, whose horned-cattle were stolen by Hercules, ruled in the district of Ambracia;<sup>5</sup> in this, indeed, he may have subtilized, but he must certainly, however, have heard from that region a tradition on which he could build, in the same way, as I think I have most clearly pointed out, that Scylax Erythea, on the Acroce-raunian mountains, near Oricus, precisely marks the place where grazed the ancient Sun-herds of Apollonia.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Od., xii. 166, 201, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod., ii. 5, 10.

<sup>3</sup> I. 6, 1, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Polemon in Schol. Soph. CEd. Col., 100.

<sup>5</sup> Arrian. *Exp. Al.*, ii. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Dor., i. 436.

I think it is clear that even the daughter of the Sun and the herds of the Sun in the *Odyssey* emanated from the legend of Epirus. A collateral proof lies in the following circumstance. The way to the *Ææa* of Circe, as well as to the *Æa* of her brother *Æetes*, according to Homer, leads on from Greece through the jostling rocks, between which no bird flies through, not even the swift-winged doves that bring Ambrosia to father Zeus, for the rock always crushes one of them to death, in place of which the father creates another, that the number may remain complete.<sup>1</sup> Now, it may be gathered from the relation of the Dodonæan priestesses in Herodotus,<sup>2</sup> however much it may be historised, that there was at Dodona a legend about doves having been the founders of the oracle; now doves were in ancient times symbols of nourishment; and we can scarcely doubt, therefore, that these doves were identical with the Hyades—the nourishing nymphs who were worshipped at Dodona. This is also confirmed by the circumstance that Pherecydes calls one of these Ambrosia;<sup>3</sup> in Homer all are ambrosia-bringing doves. Now these Rain-nymphs who attended Ζεύς Νάιος might be perhaps represented in the Dodonæan legend as coming over the sea in driving clouds,—a graceful image which was handed down to the bard of the *Odyssey* along with the mass of other Epirotic legends.<sup>4</sup>

Now, together with those traditions grew up also at Ithaca the legends regarding the fortunate and skilful mariners of Phæacia—to whom the much-suffering and ship-wrecked *Odysseus* presents a signal contrast—and various vague rumours from the western world, which might have reached this western border of Greece by means of Taphian navigation, and been incorporated with the Grecian legend. I doubt whether anything in those sea-tales came to the Greeks through the Phœnicians: on the contrary, I think

<sup>1</sup> *Od.*, xii. 61 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *II.* 55. Comp. *Paus.*, x. 12. *Hesych.* Πίλισσαι.

<sup>3</sup> *Sturz*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. the similar treatment of this legend in *Völcker*, *ib.* p. 83 sqq.

I can clearly point out the influence of the naval expeditions of the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians in the case of Ino-Leucothea. For how could the daughter of Cadmus become a saving sea-deity at Thebes, a city that never carried on navigation, otherwise than that she belonged to a sea-faring race? but how naturally did she become so through the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, who, when they left Thebes, must have speedily converted their native dæmons into guardians of navigation.

### HESIOD.

Regarding the Theogony of Hesiod, which has lately become the subject of important mythological controversies, I take the liberty of offering a theory which will, perhaps, be borne out, partly by the connexion, and partly by the elucidation of some particular points. So soon as legends concerning the gods existed, and they co-existed with the worship of the gods, there were also theogonies. The essence of the mythus consists just in this, that it makes of everything an action and event, makes all things take place in time, and thus likewise transforms the relations of the gods into temporal events. To imagine the gods as without beginning and everlasting, was an idea that could not prevail; for this reason, that they were conceived as too closely interwoven with the existing state of things, and therefore too relative: hence Greece, perhaps, never knew the worship of a god without beginning, an original deity. These local theogonies could not be fashioned out of anything else than the ideas of the creeds with which they were connected; they presented these in an historical form; so that it can in reality be said that here the children begat their parents. Ancient bards and prophets, filled with the idea of the bright and pure god, Phæbus Apollo, born to the world, springing out of darkness into light, called the Greatest of Gods, the God *κατ'ἰξοχην*, and Concealment, *Αητῶ*, his parents, and gave to the latter, again, a

mother, Brightness, Φοῖβη. It appears that these beings had their home in the Delian and Delphinian legend.<sup>1</sup> The worship of the various gods now came into closer contact. Amphictyonic *sacra* and national sanctuaries were formed; ancient schools of bards, more than all, contributed to establish a confederation of gods, in which, indeed, many an earlier worship was cast into the shade, and many a highly-honoured deity was brought down to a lower rank. Thus, also, were the theogonic legends, which had been already formed in different districts, gathered into one mass; and the mythus, generally inspired with belief in the reality of what was believed, united and reconciled whatever admitted of union and reconciliation. The union was, of course, always influenced by the ideas prevailing at the time; and, at length, with the materials handed down, speculations on the world and deity, arising independently thereof, were conjoined. Many a poet may have tried his skill on these materials ere, in the Boeotian school of bards, the man arose who formed a general theogonic system, comprehending, at the same time, a history and genealogy of the gods—the Hesiodic Theogony.

The Hesiodic Theogony shows through what births and revolutions the race of gods that then ruled the world arose out of an earlier one, that of the Titans; and how these were sprung from the primary elements of nature. *It interweaves the thoroughly-personal and man-resembling world of gods with the most universal powers of external life.* The visible world is conceived as living from the beginning; and the Titans are, as it were, the general expressions, the reigning gods, the individual products of its universal life. Now this fundamental notion, expressed as we would now perhaps express it, is completely carried out by the bard in the mythic materials. The leading idea is that of the Titans; and it were much to be wished that we could in some way arrive at it historically. This much is clear, that the pragmatic method of explanation is greatly in error when it takes the Beings described as Titanic to have been

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Æschyl. Eumen. 7.

*worshipped earlier*, because they are once actually called, though in a more modern passage, "earlier gods." On the one hand, all traces of divine worship are wanting, even in regard to those that cannot be regarded as expelled: for instance, Oceanus; again, it can be distinctly seen that they were developed from the worship of actual gods, as Themis probably was from the Delphian worship of Zeus and Apollo; lastly, they are almost all more akin to allegory, and thereby show themselves to be younger than the Olympians.<sup>1</sup> The so-called younger, but in reality elder gods, for this reason of itself, that they were objects of worship from the earliest ages, became more personal, and their significance more obscure, and thereby did the possibility arise, that they should preserve their rank as princes, and the Earth-mother, Δημήτηρ, become the grand-daughter of the Earth, Γαῖα.<sup>2</sup>

But before we proceed further, we must take care not to create confusion, by mixing together two entirely different things,—the question as to the original idea of the Titans, and the investigation as to how the beings that figure as Titans in Hesiod originated. There can scarcely, in my opinion, be any doubt that, in earlier times, the Titans must have been, in many points, otherwise conceived than they are represented by Hesiod. The name might perhaps signify nothing else than Children of the Earth; so that Τῑτῶνες would be contracted from Τῑταίῳνες like Ἀλκμῶν from Ἀλκμυαίων, if we are to put any faith in Diodorus, who says that the earth was somewhere called Τῑταία. But if we strictly confine ourselves to the fragments of a Titanic poesy which are to be found in Homer, the following view will be the result: Far beneath, where earth and sea have their utmost ends, where no light and no breath of fresh air can penetrate, surrounded by the deeps of Tartarus, sit the Titanic or Infernal gods, Japetus and Chronos, with whom Zeus has thrust them down, inactive indeed, but still dreadful, and therefore witnesses of invio-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. p. 227.

lable oaths among the gods.<sup>1</sup> They are, accordingly, subterranean, dark powers, who formerly acted also on earth, but are now no more to be seen. They still serve, however, as a support and foundation to the whole, as Tartarus to Earth and Heaven. Oceanus and Tethys, as well as Hyperion-Helios, clearly do not belong to them.<sup>2</sup> In general, none can, except beings who would destroy the existing order of nature,—dark, sullen, subterranean powers. *This* idea also lies at the foundation of the Hesiodic battle of the Titans, but an entirely different one prevails in the appellations of the individual Titans: so that here heterogeneous materials are evidently introduced. For who can reconcile the idea of Brightness, *Θεία*, of the High-wanderer, *ῥαπείων*, of eternal Justice, *Θέμις*, of Memory, *Μνημοσύνη*, of the Life-givers, Oceanus and Tethys, with that Homeric picture; and if we are not to consider these as having been hurled down, then the Titans were still more super- than subterranean deities. He who invented these names,—I think it was a Pierian son of the Muses,—evidently wished merely to represent the great *economy of nature*, which depends on the coöperation of Earth and Heaven, in the sacred number of twelve persons.

Now, with regard to the battle of the Titans, according to those Homeric indications, it was a sequel to, and expansion of the battle between Zeus and Chronos; and on the latter, therefore, the whole Theogony, properly depends. For the dominion of the Olympian gods is explained only by this combat; and if we could succeed in bringing the Titans into the same relation to the primary elements—an object which the ancient poetical fancy of Uranus' emasculation had in view—the history of the gods would be complete. That main point, however, scarcely emanated from the imagination of a bard, for he could not venture on so important inventions; and even Hesiod himself tells us that the history of the saving of young Zeus in Crete was a local mythus, and the Parnassian *Ὀμφαλός*, taken in connexion

<sup>1</sup> Il., viii. 478–481; xiv. 203, 274, 278; xv. 225.

<sup>2</sup> According to Il., viii. 480; xiv. 202.

with the 'Ομφάλιον πεδίον in Crete, proves that the legend had already been introduced through the ancient connexion between Crete and Pytho. I coincide, therefore, with the latest treatment of this legend,<sup>1</sup> at least in the position that Hesiod has here made legends belonging to the nature-worship of Crete the foundation of his poetry.

What, for example, the swallowing of children by Chronos signified in Crete, I must here leave unexamined; but what the theogonic poet fancied under it, may be gathered from this, that the same image occurs once again in the Theogony, where Zeus swallows Metis. *This* swallowing seems to have been first devised by ancient bards, for it is connected in the closest manner with the birth of Athena; and the Athena sprung from Metis is a thoroughly poetical being, a personification of intellect: it is probable that here the figure of swallowing is employed in imitation of still older legends, especially those of Crete. Now, as swallowing here denotes a union with one's own substance; for Zeus by placing Metis in his body, now knows both good and evil: so the theogonic bard in that other passage undoubtedly understood it thus: Chronos wishes to check all further development of the living world, by uniting the newly-born with himself; but these, however, tear themselves asunder from him, and introduce a new time, the present.

It is obvious, that in the Hesiodic Theogony widely different materials are worked together into a whole, and that occasionally the poet has not succeeded in bringing things repugnant in their nature into complete agreement. He evidently designed to embody in his poem all the beings that held a prominent place in the religious worship, and were celebrated in song; thus, for example, all the monsters and Beings of Terror of the ancient Heracleas and Perseids are here to be found in genealogical connexion; and, from the conclusion of the legend of Hercules, Hebe even finds a place among the far more individual Olympians. By means, then, of this striving after comprehensiveness, things extremely incongruous are often brought together; thus, for instance,

<sup>1</sup> Hoeck's Creta, p. 163 sqq.

Harmonia, as daughter of Ares in the old Thebaic mythus, looks strange beside her thoroughly poetical brothers, Fear and Terror. Now, this could not well be otherwise; and I would scarcely venture to blame Hesiod on that account. On the contrary, I would be disinclined to join in the accusations which we often hear brought against the Bard of the Theogony, (Heyne has perhaps shown most severity in this way,) for having done nothing but raked together fragments of totally different kinds, and even for having misunderstood everything that he brings forward, from his ignorance of allegory, treating it all as personal history. This last reproach is partly grounded on the theory of the mythus above contended against.<sup>1</sup> Hesiod certainly relates what he does relate as real, and not ideal; but so did the first creators of these relations, and that is the law of myth-invention. But, at the same time, there is nothing in him of later pragmatism; and he does not think, for instance, in reference to the *earth-encircling* Heaven, on a human personality, even though he speaks of its emasculation: on the contrary, he always knows right well how to keep within the boundary beyond which personification would become untrue. To the other objection it may be answered, that, if we only avoid everywhere introducing ideas of our own time, and seek to discover those of the ancient bard, there will really be found to prevail throughout the poem a consistency and connexion which to me at least seems to be the work of no mean artist. Let us here only consider how the poet, in the first sixteen lines, builds up at once what may be termed the skeleton of the world. In the middle, the great broad surface of the earth; beneath it, Tartarus; and above, the wide-expanded Heaven. That the latter first arises out of the earth, whilst Tartarus co-existed with it, rests on the general law of creation, which makes the bright and definite spring from the dark and undefined. Therefore is Chaos the ancient Prime, which always continues to exist as the boundary of appearance;<sup>2</sup> from it proceeds what, to the sense

<sup>1</sup> P. 50.<sup>2</sup> V. 814.



of sight constantly destroys appearance, upper and nether Night, which is called "Ἐσπερος. From these two again bloom forth, in accordance with that fundamental law, Ether and Day; and this, judging from the sequel of the narration, seems to be the first operation of the fairest of gods, the All-subduer Eros, whom ancient poesy, probably availing itself of the first dawns of worship, regards as the true mundane principle. On the other hand, the Earth, without Love, produces from herself the mountains and the billowy Pontus; whereat some have wondered how the Earth could here bring forth the sea, as she only afterwards, by conjunction with Heaven, gives birth to Oceanus, the god of waters. But Pontus signifies the salt sea, the unfruitful; therefore begotten without Eros. Hesiod imagines it bubbling up from the fountains of the Earth, (Homer otherwise :) hence Uranus has no part in its generation; on the contrary, Oceanus, the father of the Fresh-water, from whom all streams and springs, and all nourishment comes, must be a child of Heaven and Earth, begotten through Love.

### THE ORPHICI.

It seems proper that something should be said regarding the influence of these men on the religious culture and Mythology of Grecian antiquity, as the popular views which the "*Antisymbolik*" lays down on the subject, and the "*Mythologische Forschungen*" will next perhaps carry out, certainly challenge every theory which does not agree with them to self-examination and proof.

Herodotus, who wrote about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, states that there then existed certain *ἑργα*, i. e. religious ceremonies, which were called τὰ Ὀρφικά and Βακχικά, but in his opinion were Egyptian and Pythagorean. In these orgies *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* were handed down, and those who took part in them must not enter the temple, nor be buried in woollen garments;<sup>1</sup> ὁμολογίουσι δὲ ταῦτα (this

<sup>1</sup> II. 81.

agrees with) τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἑοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι (these five words are wanting in one family of manuscripts, but perhaps merely on account of the ὁμοιοτέλειον) καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι (all neuters: for the Orphici, as persons, were certainly not Egyptian) οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν θεγίων μετέχοντα κ. τ. λ.

Euripides, who was a contemporary of Herodotus, in the character of Theseus, represents the chaste and noble Hippolytus as a man who abstained from animal food, and, following Orpheus as his chief, led a Bacchian life, honouring the empty vapour of many books.<sup>1</sup> The last words make it evident that Euripides here transfers contemporaneous relations to those ancient times, in the same way that he does not hesitate even to ascribe obscene pictures (*Parrhasii libidines*) to early antiquity.<sup>2</sup> But it is clear that there was already a rich Orphean literature at the time of Euripides. He has also, in his "Cretans," transferred Orphean ceremonies to the Curetes of Crete.<sup>3</sup>

In the time which immediately followed that of Euripides, instead of Orphici we hear of Orpheotelestæ, with whom the Deisdæmon of Theophrastus<sup>4</sup> got himself, with his wife or nurse and child, initiated every month: and this is evidently the same class of people who, according to Plato,<sup>5</sup> went as ἀγύραι and μάντις to the doors of the rich, and promised to purify them from all sins, even those of their forefathers, by sacrifices and propitiatory hymns; for which purpose they exhibited a bundle of books (βιβλίων ὄρμαθός) by Musæus and Orpheus, the sons of Selene and the Muses, as they said, according to which they performed the rites of atonement and εἰλεται.<sup>6</sup> The *sacra* also, into which Ninos,<sup>7</sup> who was condemned to death, and *after her* Glaucothea, the mother of Æschines, initiated, were Orphæo-Bacchic, as is clear from Harpocrates, (ἀπομάτρων.) but were richly set

<sup>1</sup> V. 965. Comp. Valckenær *ad Hippol.*, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> V. 1019.

<sup>3</sup> *Fragm. N. 2.*

<sup>4</sup> *Charact.*, 16.

<sup>5</sup> *State II.* p. 364.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Protag.*, 316.

<sup>7</sup> *Schol. August ad Demosth.*, T. II. p. 167.

with Phrygian sabazia.<sup>1</sup> This was evidently the time in which these Orpheotelestæ flourished; and if, in Plutarch's collection of Laconic apothegms,<sup>2</sup> Philippus, a mendicant Orpheotelestes, is mentioned as a contemporary of Leoty-chides, the follower of Demaratus, a later Spartan of that name may perhaps be confounded with the ancient king.

Now, if that ancient Orphean sect died out soon after Herodotus, and this degenerate race of begging priests came into its room, it is on the other hand probable that the former had existed before for a considerable time; for this reason that it could scarcely otherwise have produced the quantity of books spoken of by the Attic tragedian and philosopher. Were we to read in Æschylus himself what Aristophanes<sup>3</sup> makes him say, "Orpheus taught us the rites of initiation, (τελεταί,) and to keep our hands from slaughter"—words which manifestly refer merely to the fleshless diet of the Orpheans, and not to the prohibition of anthropophagy, as those who came after imagined,—we should be forced to conclude that that institution was pretty old even at the time of Æschylus; however, this is not by any means to be so taken. When Plato<sup>4</sup> says, that in the primitive ages the gods only received bloodless offerings, and that in some measure an Orphean life (Ὀρφεῖοι τινὲς λεγόμενοι βίαι) was then common, he manifestly transfers the expression of the present, or a time not long past, to a very remote period. In opposition to all those who would, without any valid evidence, carry back that Orphic union to hoar antiquity, stands Herodotus, who could not, surely, have said of a thing currently believed to have come down from the earliest times, that it was in fact Egyptian or Pythagorean. However, we must also bring forward something in opposition to the testimony of Herodotus. We might, without further inquiry, assume that the Orphean orgies were borrowed from Egypt, if Herodotus were not frequently so very credulous in his derivation from that source: it will

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Lobeck, *De Myster. priv. Diss.* II.

<sup>2</sup> P. 215. Hutten.

<sup>3</sup> Frogs, 1032.

<sup>4</sup> Laws, vi. p. 782.

be well to suspend our belief in this case also. But that the Pythagorean league constitutes the other root, is, for chronological reasons, a very hazardous assumption. The great political confederation of Pythagoras—which had, in reality, only an outward resemblance to the system of the Orphici—was not overturned, and its members dispersed, till about the 69th Olympiad. These afterwards, singly and at intervals, crossed over to the mother country. Now, it can be imagined that, in the course of time, they became reunited, and founded associations from which then, in an inferior degree, the Orphean conventicles may have arisen; but for the accomplishment of these things we must, at a moderate computation, assign the space of half a century, (till the 81st Olympiad;) and whence, then, the great number of books at the time of Euripides, and the belief of a considerable antiquity? Could this tragedian, and Aristophanes, derive from Orpheus what was only formed in their own life-time?

Add to this, that what was most peculiar to the Orphici cannot be deduced from the genuine old Pythagoreans. First we know, on the best evidence, that an exclusively vegetable diet was by no means a principle of the ancient Pythagoreans at the time when their union existed. Besides, the worship of Apollo and the Muses was that to which the Pythagoreans were most devoted; and to them the *βακχισμός* seemed objectionable.<sup>1</sup> Now, the *βακχισμός* of the Orphici, indeed, is to be taken in quite a different sense; but still, however, it remains inconceivable how, if this sect were sprung from that confederation, the worship which was there contemned, could here form the corner-stone, the central point of the whole union; so much so, that Orphean and Bacchian orgies expressed quite the same thing. The consideration of these circumstances has the effect of making a theory seem to me worthy of recommendation, which is not, indeed, that of Herodotus, but which, however, explains its origin. When the Pythagoreans saw their confedera-

<sup>1</sup> Phintys in Stobæus, Serm. 72, pp. 444, 445.

tion in Lower Italy dissolved, and yet felt in themselves that propensity to form associations which is so deeply rooted in man, they laid hold of the Orphean orgies, which at that time already existed in Greece, and approximated and conformed to them as much as they were able. To Herodotus, the Orphica themselves might then appear Pythagorean: it is also evident how much that must have contributed to transform by degrees the stern philosophers of ancient Pythagoreism into the Pythagorists of after times. It appears that an important part in this uniting of the Pythagoreans, was played by Cercops, who, according to Aristotle in Cicero,<sup>1</sup> composed some Orphic poem, (the Greek name appears to lurk in *et hoc Orphicum carmen*;) and whom Epigenes, a very learned inquirer into the Orphic system, named as the author of the *ισθὺς λόγος*,<sup>2</sup> in twenty-four rhapsodies, as well as of the *εἰς Ἀϊδοῦ κατάβασις*, which others attributed to Prodicus, who was either a Samian, Perinthian, or Phocæan.<sup>3</sup> To the reconcilers of the two systems, Brontinus might also, perhaps, belong,—a Pythagorean to whom Epigenes ascribed the Orphic *ῥυσικά*,<sup>4</sup> and others the poem called *πέπλος καὶ δίκτυον*,<sup>5</sup> which was generally, together with the Crater,<sup>6</sup> regarded as the work of Zopyrus the Heracleean,<sup>7</sup> whose native city, if it was the Pontic Heraclea, shows of itself that he could scarcely have lived before the 60th Olympiad.

But if the Orphean fraternity cannot have first risen from the ruins of the Pythagorean, the door again seems opened to those who are disposed to carry back the existence of such a sect to early Thracian antiquity. In opposition to this, let us only take into consideration what the oldest witnesses, Plato and Aristotle, lay down as Orphic doctrines. Waiving all lengthened exposition, I shall only here adduce the leading points. The disciples of Orpheus, *οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀρφείᾳ*, taught that the soul was confined in the body

<sup>1</sup> N. D. 1. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Clem., Strom. p. 333. Sylb. Suidas.

<sup>3</sup> Eschenbach, *Epig.*, p. 187. Comp. Orchom., p. 18; also Diodor, 1. 92. 96, who refers to this poem.

<sup>4</sup> Clem.

<sup>5</sup> Suid.

<sup>6</sup> Clem.

<sup>7</sup> Suid.

as in a prison-house.<sup>1</sup> They also doubtless taught a migration of souls through different bodies and natures, to which doctrine this verse of Orpheus refers:—*ἔκτῃ δ' ἐν γενεῇ καταπαύσατε κόσμον ἀοιδῆς*.<sup>2</sup> Of men exalted to a higher degree Orpheus said, that “the ripeness of joy is their portion.”<sup>3</sup> In the so-called Orphic poems it was said that the soul was drawn from the whole into the body by the winds.<sup>4</sup> There, too, the gradual growth of the embryo in the mother's womb was likened to the knitting of a net,<sup>5</sup>—a passage which is evidently taken from Zopyrus' or Brontinus' poem, *Πέπλος καὶ δίκτυον*,<sup>6</sup> and therefore informs us that its contents were chiefly physiological. The theologers who taught that all things were begotten from Night,<sup>7</sup> appear to have been authors of Orphic Cosmogonies, (such as that received into his collection by Eudemus, and handed down by Damascius);<sup>8</sup> for, in Hesiod, from Night itself are only derived Day and Light, and all sorts of abstractions. Then we see from the *Metaphysics*,<sup>9</sup> that these theologers, with Hesiod, (*οἱ μὲν περὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ πάντες ὅσοι Θεολόγοι*), followed the ordinary poetical notions regarding the life of the gods, and connected their eternal duration with the enjoyment of nectar and ambrosia. By the *παμπαλάσιοι Θεολογήσαντες*,<sup>10</sup> who called Oceanus and Tethys *τῆς γενέσεως πατέρες* and Styx, the oath of the gods, at least Hesiod merely cannot be understood; the passage points more to Homer, in whom both are to be found, probably, however, also to the verses which Plato<sup>11</sup> quotes under the name of Orpheus. For “theologers” is to Aristotle a very wide idea, in which Homer and Hesiod, as well as the philosophers of his time who speculated on deity,<sup>12</sup> are comprehended. Lastly, the author of the book *De Mundo* 7., derives from

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Cratyl.*, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> Phileb., p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Laws*, ii. p. 669.

<sup>4</sup> Arist. *De Anima*, i. 5, 84.

<sup>5</sup> *De Gener. Anim.*, ii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Suid.

<sup>7</sup> *Metaph.*, xii. 6; xi. p. 246. Brandis.

<sup>8</sup> *De Princ.*, p. 256.

<sup>9</sup> *III.* 4. ii. p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> *Metaph.*, i. 3, p. 10. Br.

<sup>11</sup> *Cratyl.* 402.

<sup>12</sup> *Metaph.*, xiv. 4, or xiii. p. 309. Comp. App. to vol. ii. p. 232.

the Ὀρφικά the celebrated verses about Zeus, the god of all, which have evidently flowed from the same source with this often quoted one, "Zeus is the beginning, Zeus is the middle, by Zeus are all things brought to an end," which Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> with sagacious criticism, ascribes to the theologers and poets who preceded Thales, and which Plato,<sup>2</sup> calls a παλαιὸς λόγος.

Obliged to proceed in a somewhat summary manner, I gather from this simple statement the following conclusions:—The substance of the elder Orphic poems was partly *mythic*, or hierological, partly *speculative*. Now, in the mythic, they evidently rested on existing materials; and even the passages of Aristotle referred to, inform us—what Zoega, rejecting false authorities, has most successfully proved—that it was only the neo-Platonic poets of the Orphici that deviated considerably from elder mythology, and introduced strange cosmogonies, either new, or borrowed from the East. But speculation, on the union of which with the mythus was founded a regular system of dogmatism, was evidently introduced by this sect; and although the epic poems, in which it is unfolded, all date perhaps only from the 60th to the 70th Olympiad, yet centuries must have been required for its development, as particular indications lead us to conjecture that it was a very profound and consistently carried out system. But the position that these speculations came down by tradition from the mythic times to the 60th Olympiad, seems to me untenable, on this general principle, to which I would most firmly cling,<sup>3</sup> that the primitive ages did not transmit any directly expressed doctrine, just for this reason, that otherwise the mythus could not have been a mode of expression so universally employed. They may perhaps, with most probability, be regarded as fruits of that period,—from the 40th to the 60th Olympiad,—which was the most fertile in profound ideas, and gave indications of the Highest, as it were, in the germ, and

<sup>1</sup> *De Def. Orac.*, c. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Laws*, iv. p. 716 a.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 19, 195.

which, besides, was so rich in priestly and enthusiastic sages. To such a period points even the figurative language of the Orphici, in which weaving (*πέπλος*) and mixing (*κρατήρ*) prevail; expressions which evince, on the one hand, a less simple feeling for nature, and on the other, more consciousness than the genuine mythic procreation. At this time, therefore, those who longed for inward spiritual comfort, and united a speculative tendency with belief in mythic tradition, appear to have assembled together at these orgies. But the reason why they chose Orpheus as their head seems evident from this: The name of Orpheus was doubtless transmitted from the ante-historical times, when the Thracians sacrificed to their gods, and sang on Helicon and in Pieria; for the mythus regarding him is, in its genuine form, entirely local in these regions: the migration of the Pierians to mount Pangaeum,<sup>1</sup> appears, I now think, to have borne it farther north. Now, this mythic name was partly connected with the worship of the Muses, to which refer all the legends regarding the marvellous effects of Orphean music, although these, however, cannot in any event be ascribed to the industry of that religious brotherhood;<sup>2</sup> partly with the worship of Bacchus: and it was in this relation that the Orphici adopted it. For it cannot at all be imagined that the same rites could be called *Ὀρφικά* and *Βακχικά*, unless Orpheus had been before an important character in Bacchian fable, (in reference to which I have already interpreted elsewhere the legend of Orpheus being torn in pieces, which is mentioned by Æschylus, in the *Bassarides*, and Plato in his *Symposium*,<sup>3</sup>) and unless there were also, perhaps in Pieria or on Helicon, Dionysian rites, with which the legends of Orpheus were most closely connected.

But that the worship of Bacchus formed the central point of this religious brotherhood, is by far the most important part of what we know about it; inasmuch as it is clear, from

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> See Æschyl. *Agam.* 1629. Eurip. *Bacch.* 562. Iphig. *Aul.* 1221. *Med.* 542. *Alcest.* 364. Plato, *Laws*, viii. 829.



this fact of itself, that it gained a speculative side precisely from the mythi and ceremonies of the Βάκχαιος and Λύσιος θεός, and found the feelings therein expressed well calculated to serve as the foundation of a peculiar philosophy of religion. What Creuzer lays down as a tradition from the remotest ages—the doctrine of Dionysus as the through-leading god—was evidently familiar to those Orphici; and from them only can Heraclitus have derived the important position that Hades is Dionysus<sup>1</sup>—a position which is not to be taken in the sense of a later Theocrasia. (Both gods meet in Zagreus, whom the Alcæmonis had already, in a remarkable manner, called the most exalted of the gods, and named together with the sacred Earth.)<sup>2</sup> What indications thereof they may have found, perhaps in ancient Bœotian mythi of Dionysus, is a curious but not an easy inquiry: that they had no hesitation to unite Phrygian with Dionysian legends is easy to believe, as even the bard of the Europea (about the 20th Olympiad) made the Cadmean god go to school<sup>3</sup> to Cybele, and the Φρυγία ποίνης of the so-called Thymætes, written in antique language and character,<sup>4</sup> may also perhaps date from that time. The legends also about the wisdom of Silenus probably derived their origin from Phrygia, as the Phrygian king Midas always plays a part in them, and were disseminated by the Orphici through Greece, where Bacchylides already mentions them.<sup>5</sup> Now, the Queen of the nether world, as is evident even from that passage in Heraclitus, was wedded to Dionysus; and that she was, in like manner, worshipped in the Orphean orgies we could infer from the tragedy of Rhesus:<sup>6</sup> “The subterranean bride is bound to honour the friends of Orpheus,” even if mention were not already made there<sup>7</sup> of the part taken by Orpheus in the establishment of the Athenian mysteries. But, even as it is, we are led to the conclusion that the Orphici drew the Eleusinian deities into their system. To

<sup>1</sup> Schleiermacher, Fragm. 70, p. 524.

<sup>2</sup> Etym. Gud. Ζαγρ.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Il., vi. 130.

<sup>4</sup> See Dionysius the Cyclographer in Diod. iii. 67.

<sup>5</sup> In Ptolem. Hephæst.

<sup>6</sup> V. 969.

<sup>7</sup> V. 946.

me it appears certain, that Pindar's Persephone, who receives from souls, *ποιὸν παλαιῶ πένθειος*,<sup>1</sup> is sprung from Orphæan doctrines.

The way in which these Orphici went to work with ancient mythi, can be most distinctly observed in the mythus about the *tearing asunder of Bacchus*, which, at all events, passed *through* the hands of Onomacritus, a *συνθέτης* of Dionysian orgies, according to Pausanias,<sup>2</sup> an author of Orphæan poems also, and therefore, in all probability, an Orphicus. But as to whether it emanated from his hands, (as Lobeck, in his learned treatise *De Morte Bacchi* seems to maintain,) I shall, leaving aside whatever is not necessary, lay down, in the simplest manner, what seems to me probable. Nonnus and Clemens,<sup>3</sup> as we know, are the first to furnish (from a *τελετή Ορφίως*) a detailed account of this transaction, according to which Dionysus Zagreus, the son of Persephone, when under the guardianship of the Curetes, was, at the instigation of Hera, attacked, while engaged in childish sport, and torn in pieces by the Titans, who, according to Nonnus, coloured and disguised themselves with gypsum; they threw his limbs into a three-footed caldron, but Pallas tore from them the still bleeding heart; Zeus avenged his murder on the Titans, and Apollo buried the collected fragments on Parnassus. Now, one might suppose that this story was first fabled in the times of neo-Platonic mysticism; but it is evident from some fragments of Euphorion and Callimachus, that the Alexandrians, on whom, perhaps, Hyginus also draws,<sup>4</sup> already knew it pretty nearly in the same form. According to Callimachus,<sup>5</sup> also, Persephone begat Dionysus Zagreus, the Titans tore his limbs asunder, threw them into a caldron, and placed it beside the Delphic tripod,<sup>6</sup> as an offering to Apollo. But Euphorion knew of the wrath of Hera against the ox-headed Dionysus Hyes;<sup>7</sup> and also described the attempt of the Titans to boil or roast his limbs.<sup>8</sup> Now, *before* these two, there is no one in anti-

<sup>1</sup> Thren. *Fragm.* 4.    <sup>2</sup> VIII., 37, 3.    <sup>3</sup> Protr., p. 11 sq. Sylb.

<sup>4</sup> Fb., 155. 167.

<sup>5</sup> In the Etymol. *Ζαγρεῦς*.

<sup>6</sup> Tzet., ad Lyc., 208. Comp. Etymol. M. sec. v. *Δελφοί*.

<sup>7</sup> *Fragm.* 14. Meineke.

<sup>8</sup> Fr. 15.

quity mentioned as having treated the fable, except Onomacritus alone, in his Dionysian Orgies ; and it is therefore probable that Callimachus and Euphorion drew from him, and that *he* already furnished its main features. During antiquity, also, reference was generally made to Orphean poems for this strange legend.<sup>1</sup> Diodorus lets us gather that there were many things bearing upon it in the *τελεται* of the Orphici themselves ;<sup>2</sup> Glaucothea, too, whom we have already mentioned, a sister, by her office, of the Orpheotelestæ, practised ceremonies, for the explanation of which, circumstances of the murder by the Titans were quoted : so that all this brings us back to the Orgies of Onomacritus. Now, as Pausanias (*ibid.*) also plainly states that he first made the Titans persecutors of Dionysus, so we are perhaps entitled to place also to his account the rest of that mixing up of heterogeneous worships and mythic cycles which prevails in that story. *He* then gave the Curetes to Dionysus as his guardians, from the Cretan mythology, so that the god had now the same friends and foes as young Zeus ; he also introduced the Athenian goddess, perhaps on account of the similarity of sound between Παλλὰς and παλλομένη καρδία ; nay, we might assert that he first called Dionysus Zagreus the son of Persephone, in order that he might be able to unite him with the Attic Iacchus, if it were not extremely probable that the Orphici had already done this by blending together the worships of Dionysus and Demeter.

But to impute to Onomacritus still more than what we have set down, seems to me to be quite without foundation ; and if it has been supposed that he was the inventor of the entire fable, which Pausanias by no means asserts, I must confess that I cannot bring myself to think so. According to the notions of the ancients it must have been an unholy, an accursed man, who could, from a mere caprice of his own, represent the ever-young Dionysus, the god of joy, as having been torn in pieces by the Titans. And, supposing that Onomacritus were so

<sup>1</sup> See the passages in Lobeck.

<sup>2</sup> III. 62. v. 75.

wicked and reckless, he must have been the most foolish of fools if he fancied he could smuggle into mythology and religion an event of so much importance, and which, nevertheless, was previously unknown to all the Greeks. And what would the Delphians have said, if he had fabled to them a grave of Dionysus in their land, without their having known anything of it before? Or can we think that they, in league with the deceitful Orpheans, or ready at once to avail themselves of the inventions of that sect for the glorification of their soil, merely for that reason showed to strangers, as they actually did, a grave of Dionysus? In the adytum of the Pythian temple, where stood the golden statue of the god,<sup>1</sup> there was a mound which was called in an obscure legend, not known to all, the grave of Dionysus.<sup>2</sup> I think I can clearly see the relation between this local tradition and the poem of Onomacritus: the former was the source, the latter the derivative. That, so far as we know, no poet before Onomacritus mentioned the mythus, is no objection whatever: the thing was a *φρικῶδες* and *ἀπρόβητον*, which one might well know, and yet scruple to touch, from awe for the sacred and mystical. In Delphi, too, the *ῥοσσοί* alone, five priests of an ancient race, performed some secret ceremonies in reference to the death of Dionysus, at the time when the Thyiadæ, assembled there at the triennial festival, held up, in the procession, the god<sup>3</sup> in the winnowing-sieve, (*ἐλκνίτης*);<sup>4</sup> and these were manifestly also the secret sacrifices of the ox of Bacchus in the hidden corners at the cave of Delphinus.<sup>5</sup> It is clear from this, that these ceremonies belonged to the trieteric, and formed, as it were, the other side of the public and riotous processions on Parnassus; but that festival, together with the entire Dionysian religion of the district, we should, perhaps, be perfectly right in deriving from the Daulidian

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Paus., x. 24, 4. <sup>2</sup> See Philochorus, p. 21., Lenz, and the older poet Dinarchus in Cyrill., *adv. Jul.* 10, p. 341, whom I know through Lobeck, p. 16. Comp. Plutarch, *Isis*, 35.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *ib.*

*Commotis sacris*, Virg. *Æn.*, iv. 301.

<sup>5</sup> Lycoph., 206.

Thracians. He who surveys, in a wider circuit, the forms of the orgiasm to which the worship of Dionysus belongs, will likewise find it very natural that this god of blooming Nature, this god of ecstatic pleasure, was conceived as dead and torn asunder, especially as the worship from an early period had not merely a gay and festive, but also a sombre and bloody side. For what in the religious rites of the gods took the form of human sacrifices to the Raw-eater, ('Ωμηστής,)<sup>1</sup> the Pursuer or Devourer, (Λαφύστιος,)<sup>2</sup> the Hunter, ('Αγγιώνος, who is probably, also, from the name, identical with the Parnassian Zagreus); and what further, at the sacrifice of animals to the deity, appeared as ὠμοφαγία, eating the flesh raw after it was cut into pieces, and at the riotous processions, as tearing asunder the young of stags, goats, and other animals—all this the legend of Dionysus' dismemberment exhibited in mythic representation. But we can scarcely, however, take these rites to be new usages, and the offspring of a post-Homeric state of civilisation. I have even shown, that a legend closely connected with the Agrionia is to be found in Homer;<sup>3</sup> and it was certainly, also, the Bœotio-Achæan emigration which crossed over to Lesbos and Tenedos, that brought precisely to those two islands the human sacrifices of Dionysus.<sup>4</sup>

Onomacritus, therefore, undoubtedly took the main feature of the mythus from local tradition: what can be called his was merely expansion and detail. But even in this expansion, I can well believe that he found many things ready to his hand. What was more natural, considering the close connexion between Delphi and Crete, than that the legend of Zagreus' death should be brought over to that island, and there blended with the Idæan mythology? Thus, perhaps, were the Curetes introduced, who have often given occasion to later writers to call the entire mythus Cretan. This is the same confusion of Dionysian and Cretan mythi which prevails in the Cretans of Euripides, and was of so

<sup>1</sup> Creuzer, iii., p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Orchom., p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Göttingen Review, 1825, March. On Voss's Antisymbolik.

<sup>4</sup> Clem. Protr., p. 27<sup>b</sup>; Porphy. *De Abst.*, ii. 65.

easy and frequent occurrence among the ancients, without any desire whatever to disguise or deceive. Even the colouring with gypsum at the Bacchian orgies was certainly a much older practice, and probably at all times explained by traditions; so coloured, and with the appearance of Bacchi, 500 Phoceans, even before the 75th Olympiad, attacked the terrified Thessalians.<sup>1</sup> I have above admitted the possibility that no poet before Onomacritus had celebrated in song the death of Dionysus. However, even this becomes to me less and less probable the more I consider the passage in Herod., v. 67. For it is clear that the tragic choruses of the Sicyonians only praised Adrastus on account of his sufferings; and when, therefore, Cleisthene, about the 45th Olympiad, restored these tragic choruses to Dionysus, as his ancient right, τὰ Διονύσου πάθηα must have been really the main subject of them. Now it is certainly true that that term can even be applied to the flight from Lycurgus, and to some expedition or other in the history of Dionysus; but when once we know that there was a local tradition of the death and resurrection of the god, it is not, I think, probable that this greatest πάθος should be passed over, although I can well imagine that the poets only touched on the antique and fearful legend with caution and holy dread.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan., x. 1, 5.

## ORION.\*

Inquirers into antiquity at the present day, regard with proper mistrust the system so much in favour not very long ago, of interpreting mythology, especially that of Greece, from the Constellations. In Dupuis, this mode of explaining the ancient religious mythi was a revolutionary attack on the positive religion; and he also intended that the Christian faith should appear of no value from this, that all religions were reduced to a calendar represented in figures. Our German mythologists cannot be reproached with such designs. To them the legendary world seemed to gain in dignity and sublimity by its relation to the starry heavens; but they did not reflect how often their mistaken ingenuity discovered, instead of true and natural feelings, an empty sport with remote allusions and frigid abstractions as the foundation of deeply significant mythi. At the same time, this department of mythology is that, perhaps, in which *ἀκρισία* has been carried farthest. Suppositions such as that of the acquaintance of the ante-Homeric Greeks with the Zodiac and its twelve signs, render large portions of mythological works distasteful to him who would leave History in possession of its rights; and we must often cordially regret that we cannot separate from such suppositions and the consequences drawn from them, the penetrating and fruitful ideas, sprung from a vivid intuition of nature, which are presented to us by the same mythology.

And yet, to the author of the following essay it seems time to bestow again some consideration on the ASTRONOMICAL ΜΥΘΗΙ, and try whether he can bring nearer to the imagination of his readers, in their origin and signification, those

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legends whose reference to the stars can be pointed out with certainty and distinctness. To revive the *naïve* and earnest poesy with which early Greece conceived and animated nature, and thereby bring to light those parts of Grecian mythology which lie deepest—the oldest encampments, as it were, which were most covered up and rendered difficult to recognise by subsequent defeats—has always appeared to me one of the finest problems of our German philology, although, of late years, instead of advancing in it, we have rather retrograded. Astronomical mythi form a fitting introduction to this inquiry. As the phenomena by which these creations of fancy were called forth, are still entirely the same, and can also be observed in our climate, they furnish a useful preparatory exercise to the restoration of *that* mythic poesy which connects itself with mere local peculiarities and transient conditions of nature.

In my "Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology," I gave a sketch of my views on the Astronomical Mythi of Grecian antiquity, in which I especially insisted on a strict separation of those legends to which the aspect of the stars had given rise, from the catasterisms of the Alexandrian school, which consisted merely in seeking out for some figure already traced on the sky, some fable or other story, by which an interesting interpretation and mythological reference was assigned to it. With regard to this process—the operation of which is clearly seen from the description given by Aratus of the sphere of Eudoxus, which contained, however, but little that was mythological—similar views have been expressed by Buttmann in his excellent treatise "On the Origin of the Constellations on the Grecian Sphere," which he read before the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, on the 8th of June, 1826. The principles which I then laid down have been confirmed by continued attention to the subject, only, at the same time, the circle of really ancient astronomical mythi has, in some regions, widened around me; in others, the original conception stands more distinctly before my view. I will begin by unfolding, in the legends regarding Orion, all that belongs to the Con-



stellation; and I intend to treat also in the same way the mythi of Sirius, the Pleiades, and the Hyades.

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Almost all the constellations which have furnished materials of any amount to the mythic poesy of Greece, are to be found in that division of the heavens which lies to the south of the Sun's path, not in the much larger space extending from the Ecliptic to the Pole. There SIRIUS, ORION, the HYADES, and the PLEIADES, have their position nearly in a line: of these the Pleiades only are a few degrees distant from the Ecliptic to the North. Among the Northern Stars, indeed, the BEAR or WAIN, together with BOÖTES, appear early under those names, having chiefly served as guides to the Greeks on their voyages; for it was only in later times that they learned from the Phœnician mariners to take for their guidance the constellation of the LESSER BEAR, which lies nearer the Pole. But there is no evidence that these designations had any considerable influence in the formation of mythi. The constellations known to us from Mythology, which, beginning from the sign of Taurus, and passing the Pole, proceed along the milky way, viz., PERSEUS, CASSIOPEIA, ANDROMEDA, and CEPHEUS, have certainly this peculiarity, that they do not first appear, like the Horse, Engonasis, Ophiuchus, and others, under names which merely denote the figure; but, so soon as we find them mentioned, already bear these mythological names, which, moreover, are all taken from persons of one and the same royal family. Nevertheless, these constellations were not known to Greek poetry before the time of Alexander, and no trace of them can be pointed out until they make their appearance on the sphere of Eudoxus described by Aratus. To me it seems probable, that by these names of heroes and heroines, who had a certain though only apparent relation to the East, it was meant to translate CHALDEAN appellations which may be borrowed from a similar fable in Oriental mythology. But that Perseus and Andromeda, and the characters connected with them in the

Greek legend, were themselves originally sidereal beings, is a point that cannot be at all rendered probable. There is nothing in this mythic cycle which clearly and distinctly requires to be interpreted by means of Astrognosy. But with regard to the remark at the outset, the circumstance that the constellations of most mythological importance lie south of the Ecliptic, is perhaps sufficiently explained by this, that they are not seen in the sky throughout the whole year, but are at times invisible, whereby their appearance became doubly remarkable, and gave occasion to all manner of combinations. As regards the signs of the Zodiac, even this is not so much the case: they would be visible almost every night if complete darkness prevailed from sunrise to sunset; but twilight, which comes on before the one, and after the other, always prevents those Zodiacal constellations nearest the sun from being seen for a considerable period. This space of time for the Pleiades in the neck of the Bull, is stated by Hesiod to be forty days. But the more Northern constellations, which are every night for a longer or shorter time, or even constantly, to be seen in the sky, like everything which we see daily, appear less striking, and could not be so easily placed in relation to natural events, and thereby set in motion, and brought into action. But together with the position, let us also note the very remarkable figure of that constellation, with its three stars of the second magnitude lying near each other, and forming the belt, and the six other bright stars, which chiefly serve to mark the direction of the arms and legs, and unite with the others in completing the form of a man of gigantic size; wherewith the imagination also sought to connect Sirius, which is not far distant, and outshines all the other stars in the firmament of night; and when we consider all this, we must not wonder that such a constellation should, above all others, have given rise to legends and popular stories.<sup>1</sup> Everything in these stories does not seem

<sup>1</sup> Besides this view of the constellation, there was indeed another, not very poetical, and quite unmythological, but certainly of a genuine popular character. It united the stars in Orion into the figure of a gigantic cock's foot *ἀλεκτροπόδιον*. The girdle of Orion was then the spur of the cock.

to me to be yet correctly interpreted. Those authors who tried to reduce all mythological heroes to risings and settings of stars and calendar-epochs, are precisely those whose minds have been least opened to a perception of the *naïve*, half-serious, half-jocular spirit of these fables. We shall endeavour, by an accurate comparison of the appearances of the constellation in the Grecian sky with the mythi referable to Orion, to obtain as clear and precise an interpretation of the latter as possible, and in this way to present the yearly-renewed history of Orion as it was formed in the fancy of the Grecian people.

We begin with the FIRST APPEARANCE, OR HELIACAL RISING of Orion in summer,—

—εὖτ' ἀν πρώτα φανῇ σέως Ὠρίωνος,

as Hesiod says.<sup>1</sup> So long as the Sun, in its revolution, continues above Orion, in Taurus and Gemini, this constellation cannot be seen in any part of the night. When the sun has advanced to the extremity of Gemini, a portion of Orion first becomes visible, at the close of the night, beneath the Zodiacal stars which precede its rising, and before the light of day renders it impossible to perceive with the naked eye the stars then above the horizon. According to Eudoxus the Cnidian, (350 B.C.,) Orion began to be visible when the Sun was the 24th day in Gemini; on the same day, according to Euctemon, (430 B.C.,) the shoulder of Orion was seen advancing, *i. e.*, the right or West shoulder, with the star Bellatrix.<sup>2</sup> According to Democritus (420 B.C.) this rising did not take place till the 29th day of Gemini. For the time of Hesiod, (800 B.C.,) the first appearance of Orion is calculated to the 9th of July by the Julian Calendar.<sup>3</sup> But the farther the Sun advances in Cancer, the more time does Orion gain to ascend above the horizon before day-break. According to Eudoxus<sup>4</sup> his entire

<sup>1</sup> Works and Days, p. 598, Göttl.

<sup>2</sup> Geminus, Eisagoge, p. 265, ed. Altorph.

<sup>3</sup> Ideler, Handbuch der Chronologie, i. 247. Comp. Lehrbuch, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Geminus, Eisag., p. 245.

figure was seen on the 11th day of Cancer; and from day to day the rising of the constellation now retreats further into the night: so that nearly about the end of the Sun's station in Leo, towards the middle of September, it rises about midnight, and is already at its culminating point, when the Sun robs it of its splendour.

But before Orion has attained this elevation in the heavens, to him who considers the appearance of the constellation on a single night, it may appear as if the Dawn, so to speak, followed close in the footsteps of Orion, and would not allow it to ascend the sky: and thus was the notion unfolded among the Grecian people, that "Eos, the rising Dawn, carried off Orion," from which, after the manner of ancient natural mythi, a love-story was formed. Eos loved Orion, and carried him away to be her spouse, said the simple popular legend. The fact that Orion rises higher every day, and sinks later into the embraces of Eos, is disregarded by the fiction, because it is merely founded on the appearance of single days. Homer makes Calypso the daughter of Atlas complain, in the following manner, of the cruelty of the gods, who also deprived her of the man she loved<sup>1</sup>:—

Ὡς μὲν ὅτ' Ὀρίων' ἔλειτο ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
 Τόφρα οἱ ἡγάασθε θεοὶ βῆτα ζῶοντες,  
 Ἔως μιν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ χερσὶ βροτοῦ Ἀρτεμις ἀγνή  
 Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποικομένη κατίπεφνεν.

Now, however evident it may here be that Eos carries off Orion in no other way than by causing him to disappear,<sup>2</sup> still the fiction of the death of Orion by means of Artemis, which was linked to this, cannot be brought into an internal connexion with it. If we even ventured to regard

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, v. 121.

<sup>2</sup> The ἀλληγορία of the mythus in Eustathius and the Scholia, in comparison with the above simple and natural explanation, does not deserve consideration. According to it the dead bodies of fair youths were buried before day-break, as if the Sun should not see the melancholy spectacle; and therefore it was said that Orion was carried away by Eos.

Homer's Artemis as the moon, and tried to make the mythus refer to it, because the stars become darker and darker as the moon increases, yet this could not well be imagined as a killing of Orion, whose chief stars remain visible all the while; and it would be no less difficult to point out in this way a natural connexion of the appearances in the sidereal heavens, between the rape by Eos, and the death through Artemis. It will therefore be here necessary to assume the existence of a fable which grew on a different soil, and bore no reference to the constellation of Orion, but which epic poesy interwove with that sidereal legend; thus forming a single narration which seemed to unfold itself naturally, and be quite well accounted for by the ordinary inclinations and passions of the gods.

It is indeed a matter of reasonable surprise that Homer should relate a fiction which so clearly refers to the vanishing of the constellation at the dawn, among other examples of unhappy marriages between goddesses and mortals, so completely with the air of recording an event which actually occurred in earlier times. This may be explained in two ways: Either the thoughts of the bards at that period were really so much diverted from the phenomena of the starry heavens and nature,—so fertile a source of imagery to earlier times,—that they could repeat the story of the rape of Orion by Eos, without reflecting that the same thing always continues to take place in the same way in the heavens; or, with all his apparent honesty, there is so much dissimulation in the ancient bard, that although he well knew to what the story referred, he designedly guards against letting this be discovered. Although the latter supposition is by no means to be rejected in all cases, the decision, however, will be here in favour of the former; but in either case such passages in Homer are very instructive examples for the grand leading position in the history of the religion and mythi of Greece: That, at the time of the HOMERIC POESY, the ancient NATURAL FABLE was no longer represented and understood in its proper and original connexion, and that only isolated fragments, conceived

in the spirit of heroic mythology, were carried along on the immense tide of legends. Closer reflection on such passages would have perhaps even taught Voss, that the testimony of Homer, which has been so often brought forward *against* the high antiquity of the natural fable, if listened to with a more delicate ear, would be heard *in favour of* so high an antiquity that it had already become at that time an almost undistinguishable ruin, to restore from which the beautiful plan of the most ancient poetry of Greece should be our first problem.<sup>1</sup>

In the following part of the year Orion rises nearer and nearer the beginning of night. When the sun is in Scorpio, therefore nearly midway between the autumnal equinox and the winter solstice, he rises in Greece ἀκρονυχί, or is visible for the first time at the beginning of night. Eudoxus assigns the 12th day of Scorpio, as the beginning of the acronychal rising of Orion.<sup>2</sup> The mighty constellation now proceeds along the sky the entire night, and when the sun rises he sinks in the Western horizon. In the same path the two clusters of stars, the Hyades and Pleiades, move along in advance of Orion. The Pleiades, or Seven Stars, a closely-crowded group of small stars, are stationed over the right shoulder of Orion, a few degrees northward from the Ecliptic. In later times they were assigned to the neck of the Bull, as the Hyades represented the head of that Zodiacal animal. Homeric antiquity knew nothing of all this distribution. The Hyades, somewhat south of the Ecliptic, are still nearer Orion. Aldebaran, the most brilliant star of the triangle which they form, stands on a line drawn from Bellatrix, the star in the shoulder of Orion, towards the Pleiades, and nearly at an equal distance from them. The Pleiades, which are the farthest West of

<sup>1</sup> I wish Nitzsch, *Erklärende Bemerkungen*, ii. p. 22, had expressed himself more fully, on the passage in the *Odyssey*, as to his conception of the legend. We cannot judge sufficiently from these words. "Eos chose for her lover Orion, a hunter of surpassing strength and beauty. We even find her in Homer, as well as later writers, figuring as a constellation."

<sup>2</sup> In Geminus, *ib.* p. 251.

these stars, first reach the Western horizon about the middle of the time that the Sun is in Scorpio. The farther the Sun advances the earlier does its setting take place before sunrise. Democritus assigns the first visible setting of the Pleiades to the 4th day of the Scorpion; but the days between the 15th and 19th are generally mentioned by ancient observers.<sup>1</sup> According to Ideler this setting took place, in the time of Hesiod, on the 3d of November by the Julian, and the 26th of October by the Gregorian Calendar.<sup>2</sup> According to the astronomers in Geminus, the Hyades are first seen to set on the 27th or 29th of Scorpio; according to Ideler this setting in Hesiod's time occurred on the 7th of November by the Julian Calendar.<sup>3</sup> While these are setting, the lower part of Orion has been already seen for several days sinking before day-break beneath the horizon; but it is only after their disappearance that he plunges altogether into the waves of Ocean. The HELIACAL SETTING of Orion, therefore, is stated by Geminus to take place between the 17th of Scorpio and the 8th of Sagittarius; the 15th of November, by the Julian Calendar, is now calculated for the complete setting of Orion at the time of Hesiod. This period of the year is thus described by Hesiod, when pointing out the time from which the sea became unnavigable to the Greeks on account of the autumnal storms:—

Εὖτ' ἂν Πληϊάδες, σθένος ὄβριμον Ὠρίωνος  
Φεύγουσαι, πίπτωσιν ἐς ἡεροειδέα πόντον.<sup>4</sup>

For Orion is here imagined to be a mighty warrior and hunter, not unlike the wild huntsman of our legend; and he, too, as a ghost, continues in the nether world to chase the

<sup>1</sup> In Geminus, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Handbuch der Chronologie, i. pp. 242, 246.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 246. Lehrbuch, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Works and Days, v. 619, Göttl. In reference to the same time, Theoc., vii. 54—

Χῶταν ἐφ' ἑσπερίῳις ἐρίφοις νότος ὑγρὰ διώκη  
Κύματα, κ' Ὠρίων ὄτ' ἐπ' Ὀκεανῷ πύδας ἴσχει.

Hence *nimbosus*, Virgil *Æn.*, i. 535; *aquosus*, iv. 52; *savous*, vii. 719; and many epithets of the same kind applied to Orion in the poets.

shades of animals with his brazen club.<sup>1</sup> The Pleiades must flee before him, and are compelled at this season to take refuge in the waves of Ocean. Here the Pleiades were doubtless *originally* conceived to be a flight of wild pigeons, —an idea which very naturally unfolded itself from the aspect of the cluster, and from the resemblance between the names Πληιάδες and πελιδάδες; and we know from a very significant passage in Homer,<sup>2</sup> a more minute development of which would here interrupt the connexion,<sup>3</sup> that from early times the Pleiades, with whose rising the corn-harvest in Greece began, were conceived to be doves, which came flying from the ends of the world with ambrosia to the Olympian gods. Altogether, this chase of Orion was not confined within so narrow bounds in the earlier poetic representation, as it was after the later distribution of the constellations, by which a hare that does not readily strike the eye, was placed in the track of the mighty giant, as the object of his pursuit; it was rather made to extend over the greatest part of the heavens; the BEAR, also,

—τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεῖσι,  
"Οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὀκεανοῦ,

as Homer describes it. <sup>4</sup> It regards Orion, and watches his movements; for it always turns its head towards him, and appears to follow him with its eyes, as if it feared he might suddenly attack it. We see from this that the constellation of the Great Bear was, on the whole, considered to have the same direction in which it is now drawn; only we must not give to the head of the animal, which consists of many little stars, the figure representing it in modern celestial charts,

<sup>1</sup> *Odys.*, xi. 671. My respected friend, Professor W. Grimm, has drawn my attention to a great many striking points of resemblance between Orion and the Wild Huntsman, which might well prompt us to investigate whether both legends have really a common foundation.

<sup>2</sup> *Odys.*, xii. 62 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Reference may also be made for this particularly to Völcker's *Myth. der Jap.*, p. 83 sqq. Regarding the Pleiades as doves, Nitzsch on the *Odys.*, v. 269.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.*, v. 274. Αὐτοῦ, in the sky itself, they complete their revolution, and not partly beneath the horizon.



but rather that more natural direction, considering the position of the star, in which it is exactly turned towards Orion; so that we can immediately find, from the position of the Bear's head, the situation of Orion, even though the latter constellation is beneath the horizon.<sup>1</sup> The constellation of the Dog was, very naturally, adopted into this figure of a great chase, as the hunting-dog of Orion: hence Homer already compared Achilles, gleaming in armour, and shining from afar, to this star:—

“Ὅς ῥά τ’ ὑπώρης ἔσιν ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὖγαι  
 φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ’ ἄστρασι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ·  
 “Ὅν τε κύν’ Ὀρίωνος ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλίουσιν  
 λαμπρότατος μὲν ἔσσι, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,  
 Καὶ τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι.”<sup>2</sup>

However, it was not assuredly the form of this constellation, and its direction in regard to Orion, that led to the recognition of a dog in it: for Sirius was regarded from early times as an infuriate dog in the heavens, on account of the influences ascribed to it; but having been once viewed as such an animal, it was natural that he should be brought into connexion with Orion, and made to take part in the great chase among the constellations.

Although, therefore, the pursuit of the Pleiades was also originally conceived to form a part of the Orionic chase, the poets of antiquity, on the other hand, developed the relation in such a way that the Pleiades were imagined to be timid virgins, (Hesiod, indeed, had already called them daughters of Atlas,) and Orion, a fierce giant, who pursued them, or their mother, with passionate desire. Even the cyclic epic poets,<sup>3</sup> and Pindar,<sup>4</sup> are quoted for this story. The latter, also, says in another passage:<sup>5</sup> “It is right that

<sup>1</sup> Buttmann, Ueber die Entstehung der Sternbilder, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Il., xxii. 27.

<sup>3</sup> In the Schol. to the Il. xviii. 486, ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικαῖς. I cannot here enter into the investigations as to the meaning of this expression.

<sup>4</sup> Frag. ii., from the Dithyrambs, in the Etymol. M., pp. 675, 33; and Eustath. on the Il., xviii., p. 1155. Rom.

<sup>5</sup> Nem. ii. 12. Dissen has called attention to the paronomasia in this passage.

Orion should not be far from the mountain-born Pleiades." Pindar is even said to have already related how Zeus transformed the Pleiades, when fleeing from Orion, into doves, in order to put an end to their misery, and placed them in the heavens as signs of the seasons. Here, indeed, as happens so often in poetical mythi, the connexion of the things is exactly reversed, inasmuch as the presence of the Pleiades in the sky—the origin of the notion that they were pursued by Orion—is now represented as a mediate effect of the pursuit. This form of mythus is frequently to be met with in later writers.<sup>1</sup>

From the period above-mentioned, Orion now sinks every day longer and longer before day-break, beneath the horizon; so that when the Sun is in Aquarius, he is seen at his culminating point at the beginning of the night, and sinks about midnight. When the Sun is in Aries, we see Orion set just when the darkness has set in; the *ACRONYCHAL SETTING* of the constellation takes place. Eudoxus assigns the time from the thirteenth day of Aries to the first of Taurus, as that in which the whole constellation gradually disappears.<sup>2</sup> But, whereas, it was seen before pretty high in the Southern sky, and in an upright position, it is now observed to lie obliquely towards the Western horizon; which position is alluded to by Horace, when he calls the autumnal South wind—

“*Devexi rapidus comes Orionis.*”<sup>3</sup>

The sun then comes too near Orion to allow him to be still visible in the evening; he remains concealed a while, and, under the Grecian sky, more than fifty days pass before Orion can again become visible towards morning in the East, and in advance of the Sun, and before the above-mentioned *HELICAL RISING* can take place.

These relations peculiar to Orion have furnished materials

<sup>1</sup> Hygin, *Poet. Astron.* ii. 21; *Athen.* xi. p. 490; *Schol. ad Il.* xviii. 486.

<sup>2</sup> *Geminus, ib.*, pp. 261, 263.

<sup>3</sup> *Carm.* i. 23, 23.

for a strange fable, which, notwithstanding its extraordinary character, can be explained with perfect certainty in almost all its features; indeed, even the ancients partially recognised its reference to the constellation.<sup>1</sup>

Orion, thus it runs, came from his native place Bœotia to the island of Chios, and there wooed the daughter of King CEnopion, (the wine-man,) who was a son of Dionysus and Ariadne. In his service he chased, as a mighty hunter, all kinds of game that were to be found in the island. But as CEnopion always put off the marriage, Orion, in a fit of drunkenness, burst into the chamber of the virgin, and deflowered her. (Others, instead of Merope the daughter of CEnopion, say that it was his wife Aërope who was violated by Orion.) But the Satyrs, with whom Orion had caroused, bind him, and deliver him up to CEnopion. CEnopion burns out his eyes as a punishment, and turns him out helpless on the shore. Orion now gropes about until he hears at a distance the noise of a forge, and following it, reaches the workshop of Hephæstus and the Cyclopes, in Lemnos. The god of fire hereupon gives Orion the boy Cedalion as his guide, whom he places on his shoulders, and causes to lead him. The boy always leads Orion through the Ocean towards the East, so that the sun constantly shines in the sockets of his eyes. In this way the sunbeams restore to him his eyesight, and Orion, now able to see again, hastens back in order to punish CEnopion. The latter, however, has in the meantime concealed himself in a subterranean

<sup>1</sup> Völcker, among the moderns, has already correctly explained most of the features of this mythus in his *Myth. der Jap.*, p. 114 sqq. The following story is taken from Apollod., i. 4, 3; Hygin., P.A. ii. 34; Eratosth. *Catast.*, 32; Parthen., 20; Serv. ad *Æn.*, x. 763; Theon. ad Arat. *Phæn.*, 323; Schol. Nicand. *Theriaca*, 15; Comp. Arat. *Phæn.*, 640; together with the Schol. Tzetz. *Chil.* iii. 226; Lucian., *π. τοῦ οἴκου*, 28. It is supposed (see Schneider on the Schol. Nicand., *ib.*) that Pindar already treated the story in his *Dithyr.*; this, however, must at all events be reckoned doubtful. See Dissen on Pind. *Dithyr.*, p. 625. On the other hand, it is certain that Sophocles alluded to the mythus in his *Cedalion*, a satiric drama. Even the expression *αἰντοχρίστους ὀφθαλμούς*, quoted from it, may have referred to the Hephæstian chamber, which figures in the legend.

chamber built by Hephæstus, where Orion's vengeance can no longer reach him.

Now, to the explanation of this story belongs chiefly this circumstance, that the appearances of Orion, together with Sirius, were brought into connexion with the ripening and gathering of the grape. The grape began to ripen when Orion appeared in the heavens. This was principally ascribed to the influence of Sirius, whose heliacal rising takes place, according to Meton, on the 25th, according to his contemporary, Euctemon, and also Eudoxus, on the 27th day of Cancer:<sup>1</sup> in Homer's time it occurred at the end of the month of July.<sup>2</sup> This idea occasioned various legends, especially the Ætolian one, according to which the vine, in form of a piece of wood, was born of the dog Mæra or Sirius.<sup>3</sup> Now, then, so long as the wine is ripening, Orion is the servant of King CEnopion, (whose name is merely "wine" personified,) the ruler of the grape-abounding isle of Chios, and hunts for him the animals in the sky. He then, also, naturally takes part in the vintage, and gets intoxicated in the new-pressed must. Now, in Greece, the vintage begins, according to Hesiod's precept, at the time<sup>4</sup>

Εὖτ' ἂν δ' Ὀρίων καὶ Σείριος ἐς μέσον ἔλθῃ  
Οὐρανὸν, Ἀρχοῦρον δ' εἰσὶν ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως.

The heliacal rising of Arcturus is here denoted; it took place according to the ancient Parapegmata, from the 10th to the 20th day of the sun's station in Virgo,<sup>5</sup> and in Hesiod's time on the 18th of September:<sup>6</sup> it was regarded as the beginning of autumn, properly so called, (Metoporon.) At the same time of the year Orion rises about midnight, and has ascended to the middle of the sky when morning dawns, and, as Hesiod says, Eos regards Arcturus. Up to that point, therefore, Orion has always ascended; from that

<sup>1</sup> Geminus, *ib.*, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Ideler, *Handbuch*, i. p. 244. *Lehrbuch*, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. likewise, Nonnus Dionys., xii. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Works and Days, 609. Göttl. <sup>5</sup> Euctemon in Geminus, p. 249.

<sup>6</sup> Ideler, *Handbuch*, i. p. 247.

time, he begins to sink downwards. This sinking was regarded by the popular fancy as a consequence of Orion's participation in the carousals connected with the vintage. They might, at the same time, however, have before their eyes, and in their thoughts, the position of Orion, at a somewhat later period of the year: for in Greece the vintage is prolonged for several months; in particular, the Attic vintage-festival of the rural Dionysia, did not take place till Poseideon, near the winter solstice: therefore at a time when Orion, already going down, had reached the horizon, and sank earlier every day into the waves of the ocean. Partly the sinking of Orion, and partly his oblique position—in which the gigantic figure seemed to stretch itself over the earth—might, at this season, have most readily led to the idea of a drunk person. It is remarkable that *Kesil*, the Hebrew name of Orion, also denotes an inconsiderate person and fool.<sup>1</sup> It appears to have been quite natural to the nations of antiquity to regard Orion, indeed, as a powerful giant, but also as an insolent and foolish fellow. The misdeeds committed in this fit of drunkenness, are avenged by the giant's loss of sight. It is self-evident that this refers to the complete disappearance of Orion in the spring. He now wanders about blind and invisible; his eyes have lost their light; no one sees him. If to us there seems to be here a confounding of the active and passive, this was a matter that did not seem so strange to antiquity, when *ουφλῆς*, *cæcus*, and other terms, applied to the operations of the senses, or the want of them, were taken in subjective and objective, in active and passive signification. Hereupon some fifty days elapse, when the giant of the stars, who was seen disappearing in the West, suddenly appears again in the East, and rises with renewed splendour. The evidence of their senses taught them that Orion had been with the Sun.

<sup>1</sup> I am well aware that the interpretation of כְּסִיל into *Orion*, is not generally received, (comp. Ideler, Untersuchungen über den Ursprung der Stern-Namen, p. 264 :) it appears to me, however, the most probable. If we translate *Kesil* by *giant*, we evidently do violence to the word.

Formerly he was observed to sink after the Sun, now he was seen ascending before it. That the Sun had, with its fiery virtue, restored him his eyesight, was quite a natural idea. The circumstance of his going through the earth-encircling Ocean-stream rests on the same notion, according to which the Sun-god—as Mimnermus and Pherecydes related—after descending in the West, voyages round in a golden bark over the waves of Ocean to the East, there to ascend the heavens again. Only that Orion wades through the Ocean as becomes his gigantic stature, and as will be afterwards confirmed from other fictions. Hephæstus, the possessor of all fire, could be easily drawn into the fable; he was the fittest person to instruct Orion how he might recover his sight. The gnome-like boy Cedalion, whom Orion receives as his guide, is an enigmatical figure in the legend. It points, however, to the circumstance, that the legend altogether was indigenous at Naxos, where were circulated all sorts of interesting fables relating to the intercourse of Hephæstus and Dionysus, and which are to be referred to the poesy of ancient Thrace. Hephæstus was there said to have had Cedalion as his instructor in the art of forging.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he was even originally a great dæmon of fire in the legend of Orion, and merely became a boy in order that he might have room on the shoulders of Orion. A boy sitting on the shoulders of the giant, perhaps with a blazing torch, was an image, to the development of which the widely-separated stars in the shoulders of Orion very naturally invited. Drawn in this manner, he was as picturesque an object as our St Christopher. There were even paintings, according to Lucian, in which this group, with Hephæstus and Helius, were represented together. And the fact, that figures resembling Satyrs are to be found

<sup>1</sup> Eustathius on the Il., xiv. 294, p. 987. Rom. Völcker, p. 115, derives Κηδάλων from κηδαῖν, and imagines Cedalion to have been a guide of the Dead, inasmuch as Orion, when he has set, is conceived to be dead. But this does not sufficiently agree with the connexion of the mythus; and I coincide with what Welcker has said on the subject, App. to the Trilogy, p. 315, where at the same time the name Κηδάλων is explained to be “a guardian.”

pictured on vases, with a boy sitting on their back and bearing a torch,<sup>1</sup> might, perhaps, be explained by the introduction of Orion into the company of the Satyrs, whereby he assumed himself somewhat of the character of a Satyr. The monster, with Cedalion on his shoulders, in connexion with a chorus of Satyrs, was certainly also a leading figure in the Cedalion of Sophocles, and from that Satyric drama might probably be taken the circumstance above quoted, (from Servius,) that the Satyrs delivered Orion bound to CEnopion. Let us turn, however, to the solution of the fable. Orion having recovered his sight, wishes to be revenged on his foe, the stupifying juice of the grape; but, in the meantime a subterranean chamber is prepared for the latter.<sup>2</sup> In regard to this Hephæstian chamber, it will be most natural to think of those earthen jars, and similar vessels, into which, according to Grecian custom, the wine was poured in the Spring, and withdrawn from all influence of the air by careful seclusion. As Hephæstus also presided over the handicraft of potters, for example in Athens, as a chief deity of the Cerameicus, or Potters' Quarter, the popular fancy might very well call these burnt vessels a chamber built by Hephæstus; and CEnopion concealed in this house is an idea similar to one in a beautiful poem by Novalis, a mythus of the latest formation.

"To subterranean cell conveyed,  
In narrow cradle now he lies;  
Triumphs and feasts he sees arrayed  
In dreams, and airy castles rise.  
When struggles his impatient soul,  
Let none his chamber venture nigh;  
His youthful strength then spurns control,  
And bonds and bars asunder fly."

<sup>1</sup> Millin et Maisonneuve, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, T. i. pl. 20. The whole composition, is, indeed, very enigmatical.

<sup>2</sup> From the analogy of the Ætolian fable, according to which the piece of wood brought forth by Sirius is buried, in order to grow up in the Spring as a vine, we might here likewise think of the planting of vine-shoots *malleoli*. The time of Orion's rising, however, does not correspond with this; and I have, therefore, preferred the explanation in the text.

The imagination of the Greeks brought the constellation of Orion not merely into connexion with the ripening of the grape, but with other autumnal fruits; especially the pomegranate-tree, which was usually called by the Greeks *ῥοῶν*, and *σίδη* by the Bœotians, among whom the legend of Orion was more particularly domiciled.<sup>1</sup> Orion, according to one legend,<sup>2</sup> espoused Side, who was so beautiful that she vied with Hera for the prize of beauty; but Hera was so much offended at this that she thrust her down to the infernal world. The pomegranate-tree is likewise to be found on various other occasions in Grecian mythology; an Ionic legend called Rhœo the daughter of Staphylus, (the grape-man,) and a lover of Apollo.<sup>3</sup> The swelling and seed-abounding fruit was well adapted to symbolise fruitfulness; hence the Argive statue of Hera held a pomegranate in its hand:<sup>4</sup> according to Cyprian tradition, Aphrodite was said to have planted the tree.<sup>5</sup> This symbol, however, appears more frequently in connexion with death and the infernal world, as in the Eleusinian mythus, where Persephone is forfeited to the Realm of Aides, at least for the winter season, for eating some pomegranate-kernels;<sup>6</sup> then in the mystic legends, according to which the pomegranate-tree is at one time said to have sprung from the blood of Dionysus,<sup>7</sup> and at another from that of the Phrygian god Agdistis;<sup>8</sup> and also in the story that the Furies planted a pomegranate-tree on the grave of Eteocles the Theban, from

<sup>1</sup> Athen., xiv. p. 650 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod., i. 4, 3.

<sup>3</sup> The Delian legend, the beginning of which is given in Dionys. Hal. on Dinarch., p. 661. Reiske. Diodor., v. 62.

<sup>4</sup> Apollonius of Tyana in Philostrat., iv. 28, p. 168. Olear. also speaks of the pomegranate as a symbol in the worship of Hera.

<sup>5</sup> Antiph. in Athen., iii. p. 84<sup>c</sup>. According to Clemens, Strom. vi. 15, p. 288, Sylb., the *ῥοῶν* was also sacred to Hermes.

<sup>6</sup> Voss, indeed, was of opinion (on Hymn to Dem., 373) that the kernels of pomegranates had here no significance, and that they were taken in quite a general sense for all fruits that grow in the fields of Hades. Besides, Persephone, to prevent hunger, ate the usual food of the gods during her stay in the infernal world.

<sup>7</sup> Clemens. Protrept., c. 8, § 19, p. 6 Sylb.

<sup>8</sup> Arnob. adv. gentes, v. 6.



the fruit of which blood always streamed afresh.<sup>1</sup> It is manifest, that partly the great abundance of seeds, partly also the reddish colour of the kernels and the flesh of the pomegranate, gave rise to these fictions, and the notion altogether of the fruit's significance; and likewise the circumstance that the fruit when ripening bursts, and the flesh, with its blood-red grains, protrudes. To prevent this splitting of pomegranates was always, we are informed by Columella and Palladius, a principal concern with ancient fruit-gardeners.

There is still another mythus, which refers to the DISAPPEARANCE of Orion after sunset, and which I cannot help ascribing to the elder period of myth-formation, although we first hear of it from Istrus, the pupil of Callimachus.<sup>2</sup> Here it is said that Artemis loved Orion, and was almost resolved to wed him. Apollo was dissatisfied with the match, but could not prevail upon his sister to abandon her design. Now, he once descried Orion swimming in the sea at a distance, with his head only above the waves, and immediately challenged his sister to a trial of her skill in archery, asserting that however well she might understand the use of the bow, she was not able to hit the dark object which was seen out in the sea. Artemis was deceived by this, and in the eagerness of the contest pierced her lover's head with her arrows. When the tide afterwards floated his body to the shore, and Artemis discovered the hapless aim of her archery, she bitterly wept over him, and placed him among the stars as a sort of compensation. Here the head of Orion, standing out of the sea, or more originally the Ocean, manifestly denotes the setting of the constellation. Death overtakes Orion, because he then completely sinks; that it is occasioned by Artemis is taken from the legend familiar to every ancient Greek: but the circum-

<sup>1</sup> Philost. *Imagines*, ii. 29. Raoul-Rochette remarks a sepulchral reference of the pomegranates on monuments, in his *Monumens Inédits*, T. i. p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> In Hygin., *P.A.* ii. 34. Istri *Fragm. Coll. Lenz et Siebelis*, p. 69.

stance that she afterwards placed him amid the stars was added at a time when the fact was overlooked, that Orion in the Heavens had been already the subject of fable. Even the circumstance that Orion's head appears like a dark spot on the horizon can be justified from the aspect of the constellation; contrasted with the splendour of the shoulders, the head appears dim and dark. It may be asserted, on the other hand, that Istrus did not here repeat the original story,—that he makes Orion *swim* in the sea. In the genuine poetical representation Orion was conceived to be a giant,<sup>1</sup> who—

Cum pedes incedit, medii per maxima Nerei  
Stagna viam scindens, humero supereminet undas;  
Aut, summis referens annosam montibus ornum,  
Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit.

The appearance of Orion is thus described by Virgil,<sup>2</sup> as well at his rising and setting as when he is high in the heavens; and here he doubtless followed ancient Greek authors. Pherecydes the logographer,<sup>3</sup> in like manner ascribes this *wading through the sea* to Orion, as his peculiar art, which his father, Poseidon, had conferred on him; and there can be no doubt that the entire genealogy, according to which Orion is son of Poseidon and Euryale, rests on the notion above referred to, that Orion after setting in the West, treads the bottom of the Ocean, and travels round the earth to the East. There is likewise ground for assuming that Virgil borrowed from a more ancient Greek the image of a hunter climbing a hill, to describe Orion ascending the sky, and that therefore the southern region of the heavens, which seems to bear up the stars in and near the Zodiac, was compared to a mountain. We can then also explain the passage in the Odyssey,<sup>4</sup> where Odysseus tells of the shadowy forms which he observed in

<sup>1</sup> Pindar alludes to his gigantic size in the expression *φλοῖς ὀρέων*. Isth., iii. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Æn.*, x. 764 sqq. Comp. Theocr. in the passages above quoted, vii. 55.

<sup>3</sup> In Apollod., i. 4, 3.

<sup>4</sup> XI. 531 sqq.

the infernal world, in such a way that we can at the same time retain the idea of the constellation.

Τὸν δὲ μέτ', Ὀρίωνα πελώριον εἰσνόησα  
Θῆρας ὁμοῦ εἰλεῦντα κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα  
Τοὺς αὐτὸς κατέπεφνεν ἐν οἰσπόλοισιν ἔρεσσι  
Χερσὶν ἔχων βόπαλον παγγάλκειον αἶν ἀαγίς.

In that case the game are figures in the sky which Orion chases before him so long as he is in the heavens, and climbs up that lonely mountain; when he goes down, it is assumed that he still, in the land of shadows, pursues the same animals transformed into shades.

The legends hitherto examined all bear in themselves the character of antiquity. The phenomena with which they are connected, are all obvious to the senses, and attract observation; the creations of fancy have that simplicity and childlikeness which belonged to the poetry of nature in the ante-Homeric ages. It is otherwise with the following narration, which could not have originated till the Alexandrian age; at all events not long before. Our authorities for it are Euphorion,<sup>1</sup> and Aratus,<sup>2</sup> who lived in the third century before Christ; the latter, however, already describes it as a story handed down by the ancients, (*πρεσβίων λόγος*); but the fact that Pherecydes<sup>3</sup> the logographer, (about 450 years before Christ,) is quoted for it, rests probably on an error. Besides, it has been very frequently repeated by the ancient compilers of mythi.<sup>4</sup> It is stated in these narrations that Orion boasted to Artemis of his superior strength and skill in venery, or that he was guilty of unbecoming

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Ven. Il., xviii. 486. Schol. Odyss., v. 120. Euphorion's *Fragm.* Meineke, n. 108, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> *Phæn.* 637, where there is some difference in the narration.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Leid. ad Il., xviii. 486 in Heyne ad Il. *Comp.* Heyne on *Apollod.*, i. 4, 3, p. 23. *Sturz.* *Pherecyd.* *Fragm.* 35, p. 153, ed. alt.

<sup>4</sup> Nicand. *Ther.* 13, with the Schol. Ovid, *Fasti* v. 531. The so-called *Eratosth.* *Catast.* 7. *Lucan.* ix. 836. *Palæphatus*, 5. Schol. *Odyss.* *ib.* Also the *Meletemm.*, edited by Creuzer, fasc. 1, p. 51. *Eustath.* ad *Odyss.*, v. 121, p. 1527, 44. *Nigiduis* in the Schol. to *Germanicus*, v. 80. Schol. to *Statius*, *Theb.* iii. 27. *Nonnus* ad *Gregor. Nazianz.* *Narr.* 2, in *Creuzer's Meletemm.*, i. p. 68. *Eudocia.* *Violar.* p. 441.

conduct towards Artemis, or that he, with unbridled lust, laid hands on the virgin Upis, who was beloved by Artemis, and who brought ears of corn from the Hyperboreans, (Οὔπις ἀμαλλοφόρος); that Artemis, then, in order to chastise, and at the same time humble his insolence, caused the SCORPION to issue from the earth, by which Orion was stung in the ankle, and thereby killed. That Zeus out of compassion placed Orion among the stars; but that even here he goes down from ancient enmity when the Scorpion becomes visible in the heavens. It is perfectly manifest that the whole story has its significance, and the cause of its origin, in the last circumstance; but it is just as clear that the Scorpion was not added to the older mythus of Orion's death by the arrows of Artemis, until that name had been given to the Zodiacal sign which lies opposite to Orion, and rises above the horizon, when Orion is in the act of setting. But the Scorpion does not belong to the ancient constellations with which Grecian fable and poetry were conversant; it could not have been known to the Greeks before the complete division of the Zodiac, for which we are unquestionably indebted to the Chaldæans: there is also observable in the relation into which such opposite constellations are brought, more of the ingenious combination of a later period than the living intuition of earlier ages.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, it appears that at a much earlier period the astrognostic legend was carried out farther than the vanishing of Orion, and that a continuation of Orion's history was invented. In Bœotia there were stories about *daughters of Orion*, who were called Coronian virgins, and who, by the command of an oracle, were about to be offered up as propitiatory sacrifices, in order that the country might be delivered from a famine, when the subterranean deities, out of compassion, placed them in the heavens, where

<sup>1</sup> Upis also is perhaps introduced into this legend for the same reason, to gain a further reference to the constellations. For this bearer of corn-ears manifestly points to the Virgin with the Ear of Corn in the Zodiac. A particular relation of the constellations to each other cannot indeed be pointed out.

they appear as COMETS.<sup>1</sup> A particular case, in which a comet first became visible in the neighbourhood of Orion, might, perhaps, have been the reason why comets were regarded as having proceeded from Orion, and were called his children. A similar story is told by Aratus<sup>2</sup> of Electra, one of the Pleiades, who was so overwhelmed with grief at the destruction of Troy, the city of her affections, that she left her group of sisters in the sky, and, letting her long hair hang down, as is the custom of the afflicted, made her appearance again in the form of a comet.

Thus far does the fable of Orion speak in an intelligible manner of the constellation. We shall not attempt to force into this circle all the other legends which are connected with the name of Orion. I refrain from this the more, because to him who is once possessed with certain ideas, even forced and artificial combinations which serve to widen the circle appear natural and attractive. But altogether, it must, in my opinion, be acknowledged, that the name and idea of the giant Orion had not, at first, their place in the sky. Such a person must certainly have been already present to the imagination, before the eye could discover it in the heavens. Orion might have been a primitive god in Bœotia, belonging to times prior to those in which the system of Olympian gods was developed and established. With regard to his name, which, in the original form, (in Corinna, Pindar, and Callimachus,) was *Ὀρίων*, the opinion laid down by Buttmann,<sup>3</sup> that it was connected with the name of Ares, possesses great probability. Hence, the heroic legend placed him in the Bœotian town of Hyria, from which, in the mythological period, great families of heroes seem actually to have issued, and called him a son of King Hyrieus, the tribe-hero of Hyria.

<sup>1</sup> Antoninus Liberalis Met. 25. Comp. Orchomenos, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεόπορον ἐπιστολῇ* in the Schol. Il. xviii. 486.

<sup>3</sup> In Ideler, "Investigations on the Origin and Signification of the Names of the Stars," p. 331 sq: and in the Treatise on the Origin of the Constellations, p. 38. Regarding Orion as an ancient god of battle, see also Orch., p. 100, n. 2.

This Hyria, in the mouth of the Bœotians, was called Uria,<sup>1</sup> as Hyrieus was pronounced Urieus;<sup>2</sup> and in my opinion it was merely from the sound of these names striking other Greeks, that the disgusting legend of Orion's birth originated, which we would gladly banish from a cycle of fables otherwise so beautiful, and in which I cannot bring myself, with Buttmann,<sup>3</sup> to see a reference to the grouping of the stars in the figure of Orion.

<sup>1</sup> This form of name, which the analogy of the Bœotian dialect requires, is to be found, as Welcker has remarked, in the fragment of an Æolian poet in Priscian, p. 554. Putsch. Καλλιχέου χθονὸς Οὐρίας Θουγάρης. As to this fragment, Welcker, *Alcmanis Fragm.* 129, and Corinna, *Creuzeri Meletemm. fasc.* ii. p. 17; Matthiæ *Alcæi Fragm. Inc.* 122, p. 69; and Welcker in the review of that work, in *Jahns Jahrbücher*, Jahrg. v. Bd. i. H. 1. in lo. With Welcker, I think it most likely that the verse belongs to Corinna. Corinna, who was a Tanagræan, certainly treated extensively the legends of the neighbouring Hyria. She represented Orion as a noble and pious man, a civilizer of the barbarous country, (Schol. Nicand. Ther. 13, according to an obvious emendation;) he was with her a great rural king, (according to the fragm. in Apollon. Dyscolus;) the same Bœotian poetess (as I am persuaded) is also referred to as the source of that fable of the daughters of Orion. In Plutarch, also, *De exilio*, 9, for Θουγίας, which is named as the native country of Orion, I would read Οὐρίας, not Τεγας. The Bœotians are entitled to call the Bœotian town with the Bœotian name. In Antoninus, Liber 12, the Ætolian lake, Hyria, (in Ovid Met., vii. 371,) which is called Hydra in the ordinary text of Strabo, x. p. 460, is denominated Thyrie; but here, also, it is probable that we must assume the dialectic collateral form, and for ΘΥΡΙΗ read ΟΥΡΙΗ.

<sup>2</sup> Orch., p. 99. Where Ὀρεινός is to be met with, it probably rests merely on ignorance of the form Οὐρεινός, (Schol. Nicand. Ther. 15. Tzetz. Lyc. 328.) But that Orion has even been called Οὐρίων, (Ovid, Fasti v. 535; Hygin., P.A. ii. 34, and others,) seems to be etymological play. This does not agree with Ὀαρίων as the original form, which, according to Corinna and Pindar, must have been the name employed in Bœotia itself.

<sup>3</sup> On the Origin of the Constellations, p. 44.

THE GROTTO OF HERMES AT PYLUS.<sup>1</sup>

The Numbers of the great work of the *Expédition Scientifique de Morée*, which have hitherto appeared, in the department of Architecture and Sculpture, will have somewhat disappointed those who expected, from the very outset, accounts of interesting excavations and important discoveries; and it must be confessed that the size of the work, and the magnificence with which it is got up, do not altogether bear a due proportion to what is presented to us in so splendid a form. However, of the *three* Numbers which have yet come to the writer's hands, the *second* contains the description and drawing,—not indeed of a work of art, but of a natural object,—by which a startling light is thrown on a passage in an ancient Homeric poem, without, however, the slightest suspicion of it entering the minds of the editors of this sumptuous work. It seems worth while to give a more minute account of this matter.

Northward from the bay, which is for the most part closed in by the famous island of Sphacteria, stands on a promontory of Messenia, an ancient fortress, which now receives the name of Zonchio, but which in the time of Thucydides was called Coryphasion by the Spartans, and Messenian Pylus by the rest of the Greeks. A lake almost entirely separates the hill on which it stands from Messenia; only on the North several narrow sandy tracts lead along the bay to this promontory. As we descend from the fortress, with our faces turned northwards, we find among the very steep rocks which command the lake, and above the sandy sea-beach, a tolerably large grotto, which is now called the CAVE OF NESTOR. The position of the grotto is correctly given in the above-mentioned work, in the Plans

<sup>1</sup> Hyperboreish-Römische Studien für Archäologie, Erster Theil. Berlin, 1833.

of Pylus, and the landscape in pl. 6, fig. 1, under F, and fig. 2, under H. A ground-plan and a view of the grotto itself are to be found at pl. 7, fig. 1 and 2, with which the descriptive notices, p. 4 and 6, are to be compared. It is a **GROTTO OF STALACTITES**. The entrance faces the North, and inside it receives light from a fissure in the rock. Whether the name of "Nestor's grotto" is to be justified or rejected, is a point which the editors of the French work leave to Archæologists. Now, this name is certainly not without foundation and significance: for Pausanias states,<sup>1</sup> that within the city of Pylus, in Messenia, there was a cavern in which the cattle of Nestor, and, still earlier, of Neleus, had their stall. Probably the town of Pylus at that time extended so far northwards from the citadel that this cavern was comprehended in it; and hence it appears there can be no doubt as to its identity. I have, however, in the title to this essay, called this same Pylian cave the **GROTTO OF HERMES**; for there can be just as little doubt that it is no other than the cave into which, according to the Peloponnesian legend, Hermes, when a little boy, drove the cattle which he stole from Apollo, in order to conceal them. In the account of this theft given by Antoninus Liberalis,<sup>2</sup> and which is partly borrowed from the Hesiodic *Eœæ*, it is stated that Hermes concealed the cattle in the rocky hill at Coryphasion, near the shore of the Ionian Sea. In Ovid,<sup>3</sup> too, although the story is otherwise much altered, the cattle are concealed among the rocks of Pylus. But, in like manner, a high-vaulted grotto (*αὐλὸς ὑψιμίλαθρον*)<sup>4</sup> at *Pylus*<sup>5</sup> is also mentioned in the Homeridian hymn to Hermes, as the place whither the thievish boy drove the oxen along the shore.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, indeed, there is no indication whatever given that the cave itself lay within the city of Pylus; but in early times this was actually not the case, as the ancient Pylus of Messenia—now generally held to

<sup>1</sup> IV. 36. 3.<sup>2</sup> *Metamorph.* c. 23.<sup>3</sup> *Metam.* II, v. 684 and 703.<sup>4</sup> V. 103.<sup>5</sup> V. 216. 342. 398.<sup>6</sup> V. 341.



be that of Nestor—was not situated at the headland of Coryphasion, but on the hill Ægaleus. It was only after the destruction of that town that a portion of the inhabitants founded a city at the foot of Coryphasion,<sup>1</sup> within which the grotto might be included. If, at the same time, the river Alpheus is often mentioned in such a way that the poet seems to place it nearer Pylus than it actually is,<sup>2</sup> in regard to the Messenian Pylus, perhaps the reason is merely to be found in this, that by means of the Homeric poems, it became customary to unite the Alpheus and Pylus, without much inquiry being made as to the exact geographical position.

When the author of these lines had, in the foregoing manner, arrived at the conviction that the Grotto of Stalactites, described by the *Expédition*, is actually the same that the Homeride, or rather the Peloponnesian legend of the cattle-theft by Hermes, had in view, it was also immediately evident to him that the explanation of a passage in the Homeridian Hymn, to which indeed the sense and context had already led him, thereby received an exceedingly welcome confirmation. When the poet has described how Hermes killed two oxen that were separated from the herd, cut in pieces their flesh, and roasted it on spits, he goes on, according to the old reading of the passage, from verse 124 :

ῥινοὺς δ' ἐξετάνησσε κατασφυγίλῳ ἐπὶ πέτρῃ,  
ὥς ἔτι νῦν τάμετ' ἄσσα πολυχρόνιοι πεφύασιν  
δηρὸν δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀκριτον.

Earlier scholars attempted to translate this passage as it is given here. Barnes, for example, thus: *Pelles autem extendit super asperam petram, quasi adhuc nunc secasset, quæ diu fuerint, diu utique postea ac temere*. Is any proof needed that here there is as little meaning as observance of the most ordinary rules of conjugation. Ilgen, after a long disputation, which we cannot here follow, comes to the result, that we must read—

ὥς ἔτι νῦν ταμίης τὰ πολυχρόνια πεφύασιν,

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> V. 101, 139, 398.

*Sicut etiam nunc promus condus (extendit), quotquot ea sunt natura, ut longum tempus durent.* His opinion is, that Hermes spread out the skins upon the rocks, as even now a steward spreads out the hides which will keep without rotting. But that the hides of cattle keep when they are dried is a thing which is self-evident, and is here the most useless remark in the world. Moreover, the alteration of the passage which is proposed at the same time has no probability in its favour. Hermann's view of the passage is a modification of Ilgen's. This critic proposes to read

ὥς ἔτι νῦν τανυθ' ἄσσα πολυχρόνια πεφύασιν

*quemadmodum nunc quoque, multo post, tenduntur, quæ natura ad diuturnitatem facta sunt.* Hermes cut out of the hides the softer parts, which readily decay, and spread out the rest. But who would consider it natural and fitting that this remark, whose technical value we leave out of the question, should be here intruded in such a way: Hermes spread out the hides as they are even now spread out, namely, that part of them that is durable. All these explanations likewise suffer from the inconvenience that πολυχρόνια and δηρὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα "enduring," and "long afterwards," these so nigh-related ideas are made to refer to different things, the former to the durability of the hide, the latter to the still preserved custom. The latest editor, Fried. Franke, only repeats the opinion of his teacher, Hermann.

Now, if we first examine what the sources of the reading really give, it is easy to perceive that τανυθ' ἄσσα has only been introduced by means of a false conjunction of syllables. The Florentine edition has still τάνυθ' ἄσσα, and the Moscow Codex τὰ μέτασα. It should evidently read thus,—

ὥς ἔτι νῦν τὰ μέτασσα πολυχρόνιοι πεφύασιν.

The rare occurrence of the word μέτασσα, which is only once again to be found in the *Odyssey*,<sup>1</sup> has occasioned the false division. Μέτασσοις is formed after the analogy of

<sup>1</sup> IX., 221.

περισσός (properly "flowing around the measure, overflowing,") ἱπισσός (s. v. a. ἱπρυγνόμενος); even the παρασσόν of Apollonius Rhodius might come under this class, although it is usually read παρᾶσσον or παρ' ἄσσον. According to these analogies, μέρασος must signify the same as μεταγενόμενος; and even in reference to the μέρασσαι δῖες of the Odyssey, we shall have to give our assent to the explanation of the Scholiasts who took them, in contradistinction to the πρόγονοι, to be "later-born," (perhaps in the past harvest,) although still younger and more tender lambs (ἱρσάι) are distinguished from them.

Accordingly, the passage says nothing more than that Hermes spread out the hides of the oxen on the rugged rock, as they are still to be seen, enduring, through successive ages, a long and immeasurable time afterwards. We should, perhaps, have always read the passage so, if this even had not appeared unintelligible, and, together with the rarely to be met τὰ μέρασσα, spoiled the passage. That this could not be said of real hides, was perhaps evident to all; but it does not seem to have occurred to any one that the lively bard of this hymn had just as much right to think that forms and images impressed on stone were memorials of those cattle killed by Hermes, as more serious poets had to take a rock on Mount Tmolus in Lydia, as a confirmation of the legend of Niobe's petrifying sorrow. That some sport of nature floated before the imagination of the Homeride, or his more ancient authority, was, as has been said, even formerly the writer's conviction. The Grotto of Stalactites now makes everything clear. Where would not the strange forms which stalactites produce, have roused the fancy to observe the most manifold productions of nature, and works of men's hands, on the roof and walls of such grottos, and how should not so legend-loving a people as the Greeks, here find and seize many a hint for the development of their native mythi? And how easily, too, might figures be actually formed on the walls of this stalactitic grotto, having a resemblance to extended hides, with head, tail, and feet!

But, perhaps, many a student of antiquity is of opinion, that such references to sports of nature and local curiosities are not in the spirit of ancient poesy. Of the strange figures in a stalactitic grotto, we have a beautiful description in the *Odyssey*; <sup>1</sup> for that all the utensils of this sacred grotto of the Naiads, the caldrons and urns of stone in which the bees build their cells, the long looms of stone on which the nymphs weave their garments of sea-purple, together with the ever-flowing waters, are nothing else than figures in stalactite, was always perfectly evident, whether the grotto which the Ithacans at the present day show to strangers, <sup>2</sup> was really the ancient sanctuary of the nymphs or not. An example of another kind is furnished even by the mythus with which we have been here occupied, in the story of the metamorphosis of the old man, who betrayed the theft of Hermes to Apollo. The Homeridian hymn, indeed, only mentions the betrayal itself, and places the scene of it at Onchestus in Bœotia; but that is no reason for holding to be a later invention what is further stated, in Ovid and Liberalis, regarding this old man, whose name was BATTUS, viz., that he was punished by Hermes for his treachery, by being converted into a stone, and that a figure, like that of an old man on a hill-top in Messenia which was called the WATCH-TOWER OF BATTUS, (the stone-figure itself, however, was, according to Ovid, called *Index*,) perpetuated the remembrance of this punishment.

<sup>1</sup> XIII., 103 sqq.

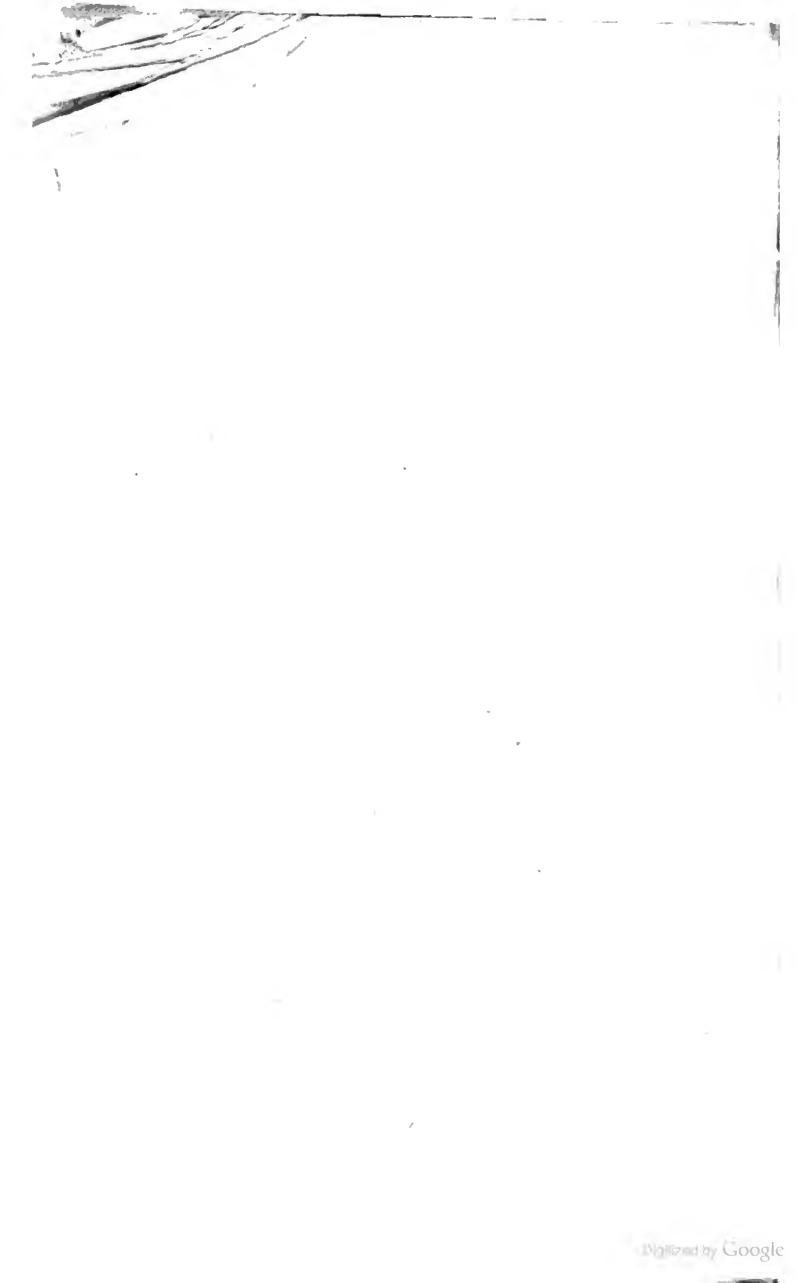
<sup>2</sup> Thiersch in the *Morgenblatt*, 1832, p. 242.

THE END.

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## ERRATA.

- Page 19, *note* 1, for *Andent* read *Andeut*.
- 37, line 3 from the bottom, for *far* read *for*.
  - 40, — 9 from the bottom, for *latter* read *later*.
  - 44, — 8, delete the comma after *Eros*.
  - 58, — 20, for *εἰς τὸν* read *ἐς τὸν*.
  - 60, — 16, for *μεγαλὴν* read *μεγαλῆς*.
  - 153, — 1, for *Heraclea* read *Heraclea*.
  - 200, *note* 3, for *s* read *p*.
  - 201, line 22, for *person* read *power*.
  - 237, *note* 2, for *Aenead* read *Aeneid*.
  - 289, line 3, for *Παῖδ* read *Παῖδρ*.
  - 301, — 20, for *Mermreus* read *Mermerus*.
  - 319, — 2, delete the comma after *souls*.
  - 319, *note* 6, for *sec. v.* read *s. v.*
  - 321, — line 4, insert 4 before *Commotis sacris*.
  - 328, line 7, for *referable* read *referrible*.
  - 328, *note* 1, for *p.* read *v.*
  - 331, — 1, line 5, for *her* read *him*.
  - 347, — 1, — 18, for *Antoninus, Liber 12,* read *Antoninus Liber. 12.*



